DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 046 559 RC 004 949

AUTHOR	Seay, Ruth H., Comp.
TITLE	With Reference to Appalachia. A Collection of Mid-Twentieth-Century Facts and Viewpoints Selected on the Basis of Pertinence to Adult Education in Appalachia.
INSTITUTION	Michigan Institutional Survey and Consulting Service, Dexter.; Morehead State Univ., Ky. Appalachian Adult Basic Education Demonstration Center.
SPONS AGENCY	Bureau of Adult, Vocational , and Technical Education (DHEW/OE), Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	30 Sep 70
GRANT	OEG-2-7-005077-5077 (324)
NOTE	191p.
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF-$0.65 HC-$6.58
DESCRIPTORS	*Adult Basic Education, Demography, Economic Factors, Government Role, Health Services, *Human Living, Information Sources, *Program Evaluation, Regional Planning, *Rural Education, *Rural Environment
IDENTIFIERS	*Appalachia

ABSTRACT

Data describing conditions, resources, deficiencies, problems, and potentialities in Appalachia are presented as the first step of an evaluative and program-improvement study for the Appalachian Adult Basic Education Demonstration Center. The rationale for this data collection is that an adult education program can be significant only as it relates to the society in which it occurs. Excerpts from the literature on Appalachia have been compiled in the areas of geography, demography, life-style of the people, economic climate, government, health, and education. A time-line accompanies quoted material to emphasize its pertinence to current conditions in the Appalachian area. A bibliography of sources used and an index are appended. (JH)

ED0 46559

WITH REFERENCE TO APPALACHIA

A Collection of Mid-Twentieth-Century Facts and Viewpoints
Selected on the Basis of Pertinence to
Adult Education in Appalachia

These data are assembled as a basis for policy in the development of adult education in Appalachia. They may also prove useful for the study of other policy problems relating to Appalachia.

The collection has been prepared as part of an evaluative and program-improvement study of the Appalachian Adult Basic Education Demonstration Center, Morehead State University, Morehead, Kentucky.

Compiler

Ruth H. Seay

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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C004949

DEMONSTRATION, DEVELOPMENTAL AND RESEARCH PROJECT FOR PROGRAMS, MATERIALS, FACILITIES AND EDUCATIONAL TECHNOLOGY FOR UNDEREDUCATED ADULTS

Project No.: 9-3-S-2-017

Grant No.: O.E.G. -2-7-005077-5077 (324)

THE APPALACHIAN ADULT BASIC EDUCATION DEMONSTRATION CENTER
Research and Development
MOREHEAD STATE UNIVERSITY
Morehead, Kentucky

WITH REFERENCE TO APPALACHIA

Michigan Institutional Survey and Consulting Service
6330 Daly Road, Dexter, Michigan

September 30, 1970

The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a grant with the Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Contractors undertaking such projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their professional judgment in the conduct of the project. Points of view or opinions stated do not, therefore, necessarily represent official Office of Education position or policy.

U.S. DEPARTMENT
OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Office of Education
BUREAU OF ADULT, VOCATIONAL AND
TECHNICAL EDUCATION

Funded under the authority of Public Law: 89-750, Title III Section 309 (b) Adult Basic Education "Special Projects" of THE ADULT EDUCATION ACT OF 1966, AS AMENDED.

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Introduction

The bulletin, With Reference to Appalachia, has been prepared as the first step of an evaluative and program-improvement study for the Appalachian Adult Basic Education Demonstration Center. Offices for the Center are located at Morehead State University, Morehead, Kentucky; and projects of the Center are located throughout Appalachia. Much of the work undertaken by the Center is financed with funds assigned for adult basic education research and development through the U. S. Office of Education. The evaluation and program-development study of the Center is also financed by the U. S. Office adult basic education funds under Grant OEG 2-7-005077-5077(324). Periodic evaluations of programs in adult basic education funded through the U. S. Office of Education have been required over the years. The 1970 evaluation of the Appalachian demonstration center has been designed to include a contribution to future program-development along with its appraisal of present achievements.

A rationale supports the preparation of this collection of information. The rationale holds that a program in adult education can be significant only to the extent that it relates to the society in which it occurs. Consequently, evaluation and program suggestions for adult education in Appalachia must be based on a knowledge of Appalachia. An evaluation of the Appalachian Demonstration Center must answer the question, "Are the demonstrations sponsored by the Center significant?" Significance must be determined, in turn, by the answers to such questions as "Does this adult education project promise to meet one or more of the needs of Appalachian people?" A data collection which describes conditions, resources, deficiencies, problems and potentialities in Appalachia seems essential.

The collection of data was desired, not only as a necessary reference for the 1970 evaluative and program-improvement study, but also as a useful tool to be turned over to the Appalachian Center for its own program planning.

For a region as much-studied as Appalachia, any collection of information is unlikely to include all the useful data in existence somewhere. Furthermore, new data is constantly becoming available as new topics are studied or as information about old topics is brought up-to-date. Hence, it has seemed important to devise a format for the bulletin which would invite constant additions and up-dating. Within the body of this bulletin, consequently, data items are interspersed with blank spaces for new data. If sections become useful in expanded form, they can be retyped and duplicated as revisions.

As a reminder, in a period of rapid change, of the need for data to be pertinent to current conditions, a time-line heads each page. Much of the information currently obtainable is of necessity a product of the 1960 federal census. The time-lines may encourage the securing of 1970 statistics on Appalachia as rapidly as new census figures are released.

The accuracy of data in this bulletin is a function of the accuracy of the sources used. The sources have not been subjected to critical analysis as to their methodologies in collecting or reporting data, but care has been taken to draw data from authoritative sources and to transcribe data so that intended relationships can be understood. Sources are indicated after each item, keyed by the first word in the parenthetical note to a full bibliography at the end of the bulletin.

Although With Reference to Appalachia has been prepared as part of a specific enquiry for an adult education agency, it will, perhaps, have utility among other groups of people interested in Appalachian areas. We know of no comparable collection of data, or design for the accumulation of data, on broad aspects of the region.

I

REDISCOVERING APPALACHIA

On March 9, 1965, the President of the United States signed into law the Appalachian Redevelopment Act which established the Appalachian Regional Commission. The Act authorized a total of $1,092,400,000 in federal funds to be spent over a six-year period and gave the Commission responsibility for developing the economic potential of Appalachia. For a majority of the people of the United States, this Act marked the current rediscovery of Appalachia.

Much significant activity, however, preceded 1965. A large part of this work was being done at the state and regional levels -- a fact which led to the unusual federal-state structure of the Appalachian Regional Commission. (See I. 24) The 1966 Annual Report of the Commission mentions a few important steps:

1960 - The Conference of Appalachian Governors met in Maryland.
1961 - The Area Redevelopment Administration was formed to conduct liaison for the federal government with the Appalachian governors.
1963 - The governors requested the President to establish a joint Federal-State Commission to provide working recommendations for bringing a regional program into action. The President's Appalachian Regional Commission was appointed.
1964 - This Commission recommended to the President a coordinated program of federal, state, and local investment to help solve the most urgent problems of the region.

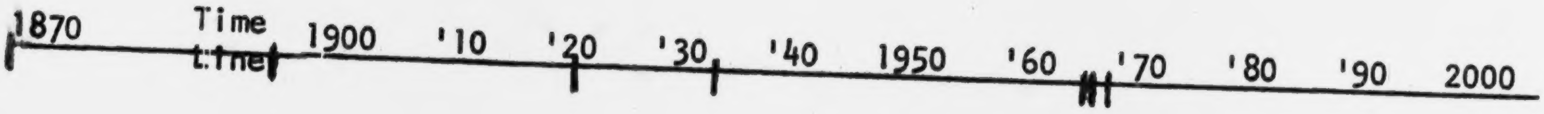
Conditions in Appalachia had indeed worsened during the decade of the fifties. Leaders of the region--business men, church men, university specialists, state officials, the medical profession--local, state, and area leaders rose to the emergency. They demanded facts, and facts were provided in the form of a comprehensive study started in 1956 and published in 1962: The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey, edited by Thomas R. Ford.

Adron Doran, President of Morehead State University, Morehead, Kentucky, tells of the appointment in 1957 of the Eastern Kentucky Regional Planning Commission and describes its influence in encouraging Governor Tawas of Maryland to call the 1960 Conference of Appalachian Governors. Harry Caudill wrote his Night Comes to the Cumberlands in 1962 and awakened the entire nation to the plight of the Kentucky coal miner. The University of West Virginia was organizing remote counties through its combined extension services. Special grants of private money were being made by philanthropic foundations in support of projects of the Council of the Southern Mountains, the North Carolina Fund, the Eastern Kentucky Resource Development Project, and other programs of similar nature. Appalachia was acting, calling upon its own resources and asking for outside help.

The nation began to realize that the economic crisis in Appalachia was, at last, so serious that Appalachia could no longer be ignored. The region had been discovered before--three times according to Robert Munn--but this time it was different. Some people in the nation were no longer seeing poverty as quaint or romantic, and they had influence. In 1958 John Kenneth Galbraith wrote The Affluent Society. Robert Theobald was talking to college students during the early sixties about a guaranteed minimum income. The Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 equated underemployment with unemployment. The nation was in a mood to move. Money was plentiful; technology was self-confident. Change was everywhere. Change came faster and faster. City dwellers were proud of their ability to change rapidly. If living conditions were impossible in some part of this great country, change them! Change them quickly. And the social lag in small communities and rural areas was sometimes less than expected when sociologists gave the matter a close look.

The social philosophy of the leaders of Appalachia in the decades of the fifties and sixties stands squarely upon the philosophy and, to some extent, the accomplishments of the regional leadership of the period between 1932 and 1945. During this time H. A. Morgan of the Tennessee Valley Authority influenced regional and national thinking on such matters as the establishment and maintenance of a permanent, interdependent relationship between urban and rural communities. Regional studies were reported under titles such as Adult Education: A Part of a Total Educational Program and Channeling Research into Education. Professors Rupert Vance and Howard Odum were teaching and writing at the University of North Carolina. The American Council on Education was sponsoring studies in "Resource-Use Education" and the Educational Policies Commission was publishing Education for All American Youth.

The published literature of these two periods tells the story. Selected excerpts and condensations from pertinent publications will, perhaps, assist the reader in seeing how Appalachia came to be rediscovered in the sixties.



1.1. "The first major rediscovery of Appalachia was a literary one." After the Civil War the American public began to demonstrate an insatiable fondness for regional novels, especially those using quaint dialects and emphasizing quaint customs.

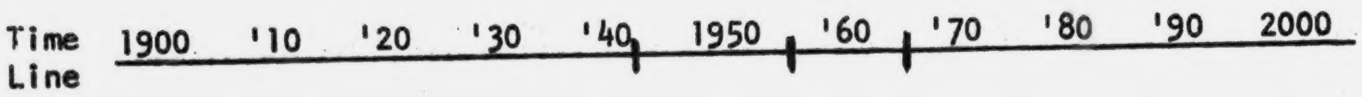
In 1895 "the mountainous back yards of nine states" were discovered by William G. Forst, then President of Berea College. Dr. Frost aroused the nation's conscience, raised large sums of money with the aid of several Protestant denominations, and financed schools to educate the young people of the mountains. By 1920 there were over one hundred mission schools in the Appalachian mountains.

The third discovery was directed toward the coal fields and occurred in the early 1930's. Many groups in other parts of the nation adopted coal miners in Harlan and Bell Counties, Kentucky, but such philanthropy was short lived.

"Now--again--the region's trials and tribulations are prime copy.... Most amazing of all, people even want to give us money." Private foundations and the federal government are making grants and, for the first time in history, voting large sums of money for the purpose of improving the economic life of the area. There are good reasons for thinking that the current interest in Appalachia may be more helpful to the region than were the earlier rediscoveries. (Munn, "The Latest Rediscovery of Appalachia",

1.2 Rupert Vance wrote in an introductory note to Yesterday's People that the problems of the southern mountains have long been in and out of the public eye and that now "they are back again to stay... The public agencies are stepping in and there is money in the budget." (Weller, '65, pp. vi, vii)

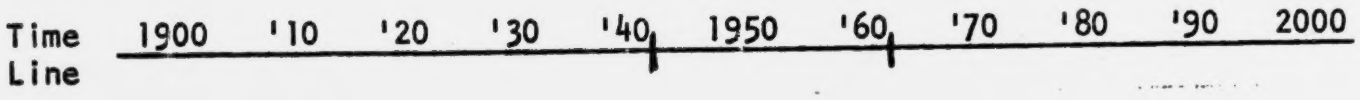
1.3. The "catching up with the rest of the country" that the Tennessee Valley Authority hoped would take place in the entire Appalachian region did not occur. Areas of unemployment did not automatically disappear with the production of power and the arrival of industry in particularly promising valleys. (Moore, The Economic Impact of TVA, '67, pp. 128-131)



1.4. "There are sound economic reasons for tapping the tax resources of the nation to support educational and other institutional services in areas which do not have adequate tax resources to support those services themselves. Our present economy is such that wealth, and therefore tax-paying ability, tends to be drawn from wide areas and concentrated in highly industrialized centers which sell their products all over the country. The wider areas contribute directly to the concentration of wealth in the industrialized centers." (Welch, "Helping Low-Income Farm Families," Mountain Life and Work, Winter '55, p. 21)

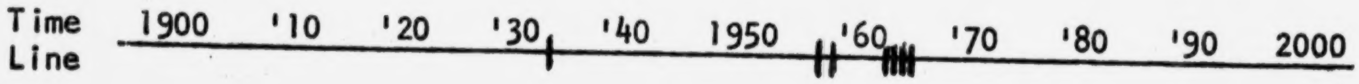
1.5. "Regional development must be planned in terms of national well-being. It is far easier to whip up enthusiasm for a selfish sectional program, ignoring the welfare of other regions, than to do real regional thinking. A few lessons from history should serve to prove the necessity for a regional rather than a narrow sectional approach. A permanent, balanced regional economy cannot exist unless it fits into the broad pattern of national life and enriches it. Common understanding of the bases of regional life plus an economy based upon the facts of natural resources and facilities equals the preservation of the delicately adjusted balance in and with nature and permanent security for the individual and society." (From H. A. Morgan in Our Common Mooring, Hartford, ed., '41, p. 63)

1.6 "Appalachia needs upwards of 500,000 new jobs right now." (Burlage, "Appalachia: the Heart of the Matter," Poverty in America, '65, p. 471)



1.7. Under a subheading: "Items of a Regional Program" (in a chapter called "A Program of Regional Development") the following twelve measures set forth by policy makers for the Tennessee Valley Authority are listed:

1. Control of rain where it falls.
2. Utilization of favorable climatic conditions for economical production of self-containment commodities.
3. Correction of the single-crop economy.
4. Conservation of natural resources.
5. Utilization of opportunities for processing raw materials in the region.
6. Establishment and maintenance of permanent interdependent relationships between urban and rural communities. "Urbanization has been hastened and pushed to an unhealthy point in older industrial areas. In the Southeast urbanization is growing at a rate double that of the nation as a whole. In view of recent progress toward community planning, such a tragedy is avoidable in the Southeast.
7. Restoration of democratic procedures in place of present practices of vested interests and pressure groups. "... the public allows minority groups to put over their own selfish programs."
8. Provision for wholesome recreation and leisure time opportunities. "The comparative wealth and variety of easily accessible scenic resources make it possible and economical for ample recreational facilities to be provided for all the people of the region....Growing urbanization and increasing leisure time make this potentiality a challenge to every Southeastern community."
9. Increased income for correction of unfavorable social and economic conditions. "The vicious cycle of interrelated social and economic conditions cannot be alleviated without an increased income for the region and a broader tax base for the support of public programs of education, health, safety, and recreation."
10. Obtaining leadership for regional reconstruction.
11. Removal of artificial barriers to economic development.
12. A realistic program of research to open up new opportunities for agriculture and industry. (From H.A. Morgan in Our Common Mooring, Hartford, ed., '41, pp. 60-62)



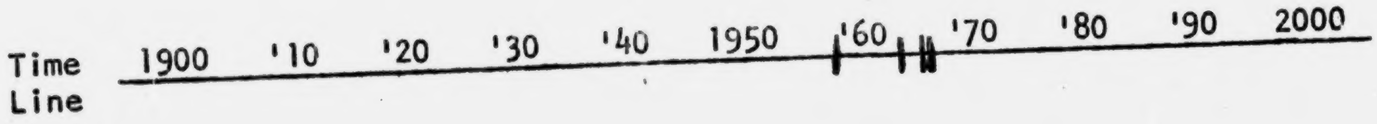
1.8. In three decades the transformation in the Tennessee Valley has shown what enlightened government intervention--under the auspices of careful planners--can accomplish. Once a grim and forbidding land, the Valley is now clean and prosperous, beautiful with green hills and glittering lakes. "More startling still, the region has given birth to a number of new towns while the old ones scarcely resemble the drab communities which once bore their names."

The creation of a Southern Mountain Authority patterned along the lines of the Tennessee Valley Authority could bring the region of the Southern Mountains abreast of the nation in two or three decades.

For the past ten years, the taxpayers of the more prosperous sections of Kentucky have been paying tens of millions of dollars annually merely to sustain the existence of the people in the mountain counties.

1.9. "The most recent regional survey of social and economic conditions" was made in the early thirties by the U. S. Department of Agriculture in cooperation with the U. S. Office of Education and the Agricultural Experiment Stations of Tennessee, Virginia, West Virginia, and Kentucky. Although the study has been outdated by the changes of twenty-five years, it has served a great purpose in identifying specific regional problems and characteristics. (Weatherford, "Forward", The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey, '62, p. v)

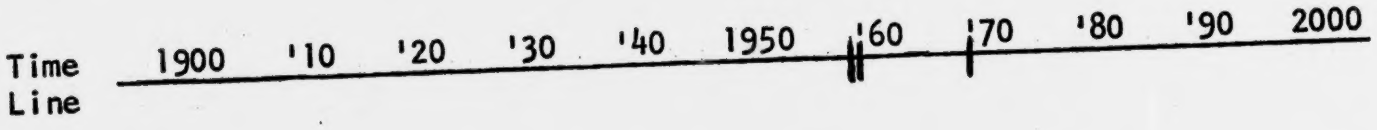
1.10. "The recent publication of The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey puts into the hands of mountain workers...the most potent weapon to date: factual knowledge of the situation based upon first-hand research...." Many of the problems examined in the Survey were also examined in 1935, but there are important differences between the two periods: "one or more generations have come along to be subjected to the changing times, including five years of war, the full flowering of television, the easy-payment plan..." (Conner, "The Appalachian South - 1962," Mountain Life and Work, Summer '62, p. 31)



1.11. Delegates from a number of religious denominations who had gathered at Berea, Kentucky, in 1956 to consider cooperative programs in education and welfare were aware of the need for current information on social, cultural, and economic conditions in the region. They "asked Berea College to be host for a survey of the region, using as much field work as feasible.... research was started in June of 1958. Eleven universities...several independent colleges, the Tennessee Valley Authority, and other independent agencies released time for investigators who conducted the individual studies....The overall direction of the survey was provided by a central committee composed of Dr. Earl D. C. Brewer, Dr. Thomas R. Ford, Dr. Rupert B. Vance, and myself." (Weatherford, "Foreward", The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey, '62, pp. v, vi)

1.12. The survey technique used in securing part of the data for The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey is described concisely by the editor: "The Region was divided into residential areas of three types: (1) metropolitan, which included counties containing cities of 50,000 or more and adjacent counties within the zone of metropolitan influence; (2) smaller towns and cities with populations between 2,500 and 50,000, designated for purposes of simplicity as urban places; and (3) rural areas, containing both village and open-country population. Nearly 1,500 sample households were then selected, each type of area contributing to the sample in numbers roughly proportionate to the total population of such areas in the Region....31.5 percent were from metropolitan households, 19.1 percent from other urban households, and 49.4 percent from rural households....In addition, interviews were held with 379 individuals named as community leaders by respondents in the sampled localities." (Ford, '62, p. 10)

1.13. "...by far the greatest cause for optimism is the very seriousness of the situation....by the early 1960's much of Appalachia was in a state of crisis. The problems clearly were not going away; they were getting worse." People of the region and of the nation felt that it is wrong for so many people to live so poorly within a rich society, and they recognized that misery, ignorance and poverty are self-generating and in the long run produce a threat to the entire society. (Munn, "The Latest Rediscovery of Appalachia," Mountain Life and Work, Fall '65, p.12)

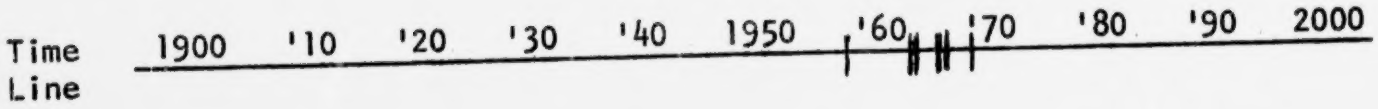


1.14. In an Introduction to Poverty in America by Ferman, Kornbluh, and Haber, Michael Harrington says that liberal thought in America is now in favor of direct federal participation in the building of housing, schools, transportation systems and the like. On the other hand, he says that the more conservative followers of Keynes control the entire political spectrum. ('65, p. ix)

1.15. In isolated hollows and along the remote ridges it is the better educated and more prosperous farmers who are receptive to change. The net effect, therefore, of assistance (from county, state, and federal agencies) is to widen the gap--the apparent differences--between these neighborhoods and poorer settlements. The extension of rural electric services to isolated communities had a similar effect in exaggerating differences. (Pearsall, Little Smoky Ridge, '59, p. 179)

1.16. The Affluent Society appeared in 1958, added the work "affluence" to everyday American language, and directed the thinking of the American people to the poverty that survives alongside the affluence. A new edition was published in 1969 in which some additional points of view were set forth. Galbraith wrote that, in the case of insular poverty, the services of the community must be assisted from outisde. "Poverty is self-perpetuating because the poorest communities are poorest in the services that would eliminate it." ('69, p. 294)

1.17. "It is not an exaggeration to say that some Southern Appalachian communities have experienced in one generation the changes which in other regions of America have developed during the one and three-quarters centuries since the close of the Revolutionary War....The region has incorporated the change into its pre-exisiting patterns and orientations." (Graybeal, "Cultural Changes in the Appalachian South," Mountain Life and Work, Spring '59, p. 6)



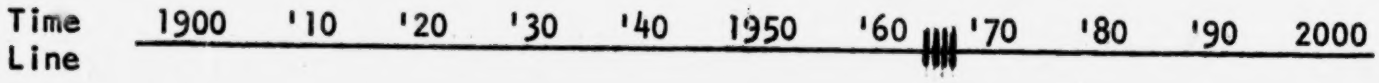
1.18. The popular impression that mountain culture is an unchangeable, homogeneous way of life grows out of the fact that many sociological studies have been made from data gathered in small, relatively isolated communities, often selected because they still preserve a way of life that is rapidly disappearing from other parts of the region. This erroneous impression has tended to obscure the tremendous cultural changes that have been taking place for many years. (Ford, "The Passing of Provincialism", The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey, '62, p. 10)

1.19. If mountain people once become convinced of their chance for success and believe they will not be let down or made to look foolish, they will become as strongly attached to their new opinion as to the old one they had seemed to defend so fiercely. (Weller, Yesterday's People, '65, p. 98)

1.20. The poverty of rural areas has too often been described in terms of the rates of unemployment. The problem has been brought into sharper focus by the recent recognition in public policy of the needs of the underemployed. The Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 has explicitly equated underemployment with unemployment, stating that workers in farm families who earn less than $1,200 annual net income shall be considered unemployed for the purposes of the Act. (Meissner, ed., Poverty in the Affluent Society, '66, p. 79)

1.21. In 1957 the Governor of Kentucky appointed a nine-member commission, the Eastern Kentucky Regional Planning Commission. The members were two coal company executives, the president of a large oil company, a newspaper editor, a realty developer, a state university president, a minister, a physician, and a gas company executive. A year later this Commission appointed John Whisman as Executive Director. (He is now the representative of the states as Co-Chairman of the Appalachian Regional Commission.)

After two years of hearings and discussions with local, state, and federal officials, this Commission presented to the Kentucky General Assembly the "Program 60-Decade of Action for Progress in Eastern Kentucky"--calling the attention of the region and the nation to the fact that they were dealing with an underdeveloped and isolated region. (Doran, "The Appalachian Compact", '69)



1.22. The following states and federal agencies participated in the study made between April 9, 1963, and April 9, 1964, by The President's Appalachian Regional Commission:

(9 states)
West Virginia
Alabama
Georgia
Kentucky
Maryland
North Carolina
Tennessee
Virginia
Pennsylvania

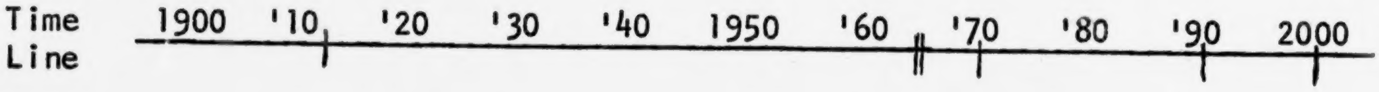
(14 federal agencies)
Department of Health, Education, & Welfare
Tennessee Valley Authority
Atomic Energy Commission
Small Business Administration
National Aeronautics & Space Administration
Area Redevelopment Administration
Department of the Treasury
Department of Defense
Department of the Interior
Department of Agriculture
Department of Commerce
Department of Labor
The Housing Agency
The Home Finance Agency

(Appalachian Regional Commission, Annual Report 1966, '67, p. 4)

1.23. The Appalachian Regional Development Act became law on March 9, 1965. It is a six-year program uniting the federal government and twelve Appalachian states "in an effort to promote economic growth and development of the Appalachian region".

Of the $1,092,400,000 authorized, $840,000,000 were earmarked for highway construction.

Other areas of emphasis are water resources, land stabilization, timber development, mining area restoration, health services, vocational education, all of which were designated in the allocation of funds. Supplemental grants were made to enable local communities to participate in existing Federal grant-in-aid programs. Three examples of these supplemental grants were a West Virginia regional library, a Pennsylvania sewage treatment plant, and a Tennessee high school. (Ibid., p.1,27-34, 38-41)



1.24. The Appalachian Regional Commission, established by the Appalachian Regional Development Act, is administered by co-chairmen (a federal Chairman appointed by the President and a States' Regional Representative) and an Executive Director.

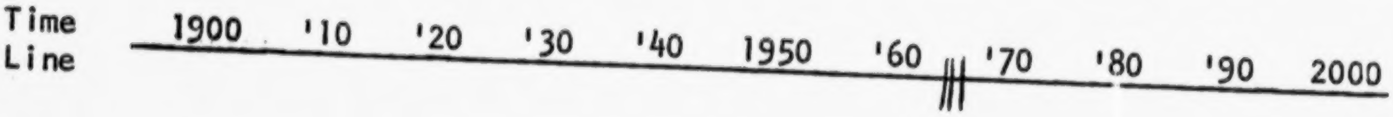
The governors of the twelve states in the region are members of the Commission. (Ibid., p. 2)

Note: Certain counties in southern New York were added later. The total number of states represented on the Appalachian Regional Commission thus became thirteen. (Fishman, Poverty Amid Affluence, '66, p. 126)

1.25. Several leaders looked into the future--far beyond the six years funded by the Appalachian Regional Development Act--and reminded the reading public of what would need to be done. Rupert Vance, professor of sociology and research professor in the Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina, nationally known as a teacher and writer and as a leader in Appalachia, put it this way: "Where spot areas of poverty are disclosed in 1990, intensive campaigns should be organized as part of the mopping-up operation to eliminate them before the program is closed out by the year 2000." ("How Much Better Will the Better World Be?" Mountain Life and Work, Fall, '65, p. 26)

1.26. The weekly magazine, U.S. News and World Report, presented a concise review of the first five years of the "big experiment to lift up depressed Appalachia", introducing the report with the following statement: 'The Nixon administration, in its search for a new policy to guide the growth of America, is looking at an area that a decade ago was regarded as a symbol of backwardness--Appalachia.

"Officials believe the regional development program that began there in 1965 is working. In addition, the special problems of Appalachia are being tackled in a way that seems to fit the President's notion of how the Federal Government and the states should work together," (March 23, 1970, p. 79)

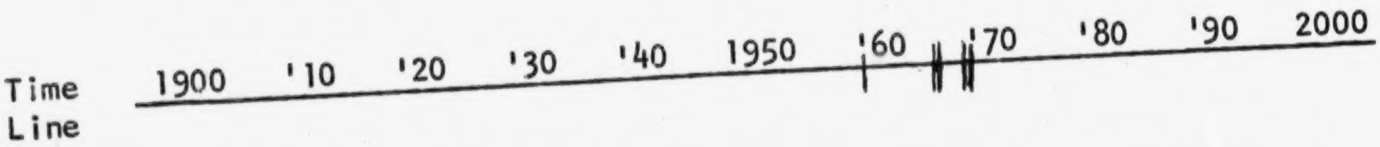


1.27. Appalachia itself, naturally enough, expressed varying reactions to the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965 and the Appalachian Regional Commission which it established. The Council of the Southern Mountains (which was fifty-three years old in 1965) has been one of the agencies speaking for and to workers in the Southern Appalachians. The Council continued to speak for and to them as it referred to "wading into the eddies of Big Money affairs." The warning, "Institutional wariness smothers intuitive awareness," put into print the fears of many long-time workers.

The Council asked, "What is our function?" And the answer, stated in many articles and editorials and worded in many different ways, went something like this: We started as a modest collaboration of the poor and the not-so-poor. We worked considerably through and with widely separated settlement schools, health centers, recreational and craft units. We would like now to decide our future as an independent, amateur, and strictly altruistic fellowship. This Council was first called a "conference of mountain workers" and its members were close to the people among whom they worked. Today our major contribution can be, we think, to continue serving as a conference which can offer a channel of close communication between those who can help and those who need help. (Articles and editorials, Mountain Life and Work, '65 and '66, particularly spring, '66, p. 5)

1.28. John Sherman Cooper and Jennings Randolph, United States Senators from Kentucky and West Virginia, had helped to shape the Appalachian Regional Development Act and had used their influence to help pass it. They said to the people of the region, "When this law was signed, the framework for a new concept of local, state, and federal partnership was established....The primary purpose of the Act...is to assist state and local bodies in the development of the basic resources and facilities on which economic growth depends....In order to begin to provide the base for this growth [toward the standard of living reached elsewhere in America], the Appalachian Act includes assistance for the improvement of transportation facilities, the development of land and water resources, the expansion of health and vocational education facilities, and the provision of technical assistance to improve capabilities for economic planning." (Mountain Life and Work, Summer, '65, pp. 31-32)

1.29. The Appalachian Regional Development Act drew some criticism, of course. Robb Burlage, a member of the Tennessee State Planning Commission, wrote that the nation, even though it was recognizing the need in Appalachia for immediate, massive outside assistance, was losing a great opportunity to project new approaches to solving the total needs of the individuals and their communities. "All the controversial issues are dodged: direct public industrial and power development, direct public creation of totally new or rebuilt communities, direct substitution for the technical and administrative inadequacies and roadblocks on the state and local levels, massive federal aid for education and medical care, directly created jobs or directly provided income for those persons who cannot be immediately 'placed', humane 'planned resettlement' for those persons who choose it...." He asks if the provision of cheap public power would not be as strong an inducement to region-wide industrial development as it was in the Tennessee Valley? ("Appalachia: the Heart of the Matter", Ferman, Kornbluh, and Haber, Poverty in America, '65, p. 473)

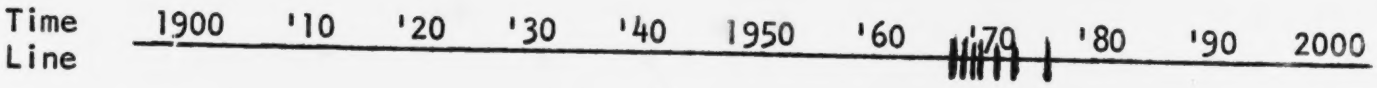


1.30. "It is, I think, a mistake to try to assimilate the hollow dweller into the dominant culture of our society." (Gazaway, The Longest Mile. '69, p. 161)

1.31. The downpour of federal dollars can, hopefully, nurture prosperity in the region, or it can wash away Appalachia's eroding rural life. Concentrating on building regional urban centers is probably wise in order to provide more jobs for the people, but is is cruel and destructive to force country folk to migrate to urban areas where the disintegration of their family life can be expected. And the technological need for cities has diminished. Automation does not require huge assembly lines. (Ernst, "Will Federal Aid Revive or Wash Away the People?", '65, pp. 19-20)

1.32. "Federal aid to Appalachia totaling $450 million since 1965 has done little to alleviate their plight." ("Misery at Vortex", Time, February 23, '68, p. 20)

1.33. "The question of who shall make the determination of which needs are to be served, in what way, and how well, is the basis of many conflicts between local communities and extra-local agencies, both public and private. Even where agreement exists with respect to both ends and means, standards of adequacy are still widely varied. In 1958, for example, a regional sample of rural residents in the Southern Appalachian mountains was asked to evaluate the quality of their local schools. By prevailing national norms, most of the schools would have been rated seriously deficient. Yet more than sixty percent of the respondents rated their community schools as 'good' or 'excellent'." (Ford and Hillery, Chapter 5 of the Report of the President's Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty, '68, p. 76)

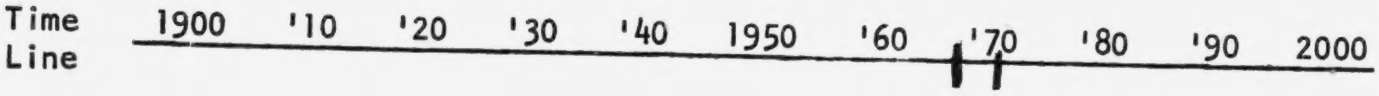


1.34. After the establishment of the Appalachian Regional Commission in 1965, local and state planners worked closely together to decide on community projects. State governments, working with the Commission staff, produced "State Appalachian Development Plans" and thereby played a key role in determining how federal as well as state and local funds could best be invested for the public benefit. (Appalachian Regional Commission, Annual Report 1966. '67, p. 1)

1.35. An example of one of the state plans is that of Pennsylvania. That state's economic development policy has long had two major thrusts: training workers and attracting manufacturers. In the 1969 state plan a third broad area was defined: "a balanced economy". Employment in services, for example, is expected to grow rapidly through 1975--and a case in point is tourist promotion.

As the Appalachian program has progressed and knowledge of local aspirations, area potentials and regional needs have advanced, judgments expressed in the state plan have been refined and enlarged. Local groups have contributed substantially to this strategy.

The 1969 Pennsylvania plan is the first Appalachian State Development Plan to be based on the "building block" formula. This formula is based on the work of Local Development Districts (LDD's)--groups of five to eleven counties joined in regional organizations. The districts analyze economic and social information, compile needs and objectives, and contribute recommendations to the state's overall plan for Appalachian Development. ("Pennsylvania Builds a State Plan", Appalachia, February '69, pp. 18-20)



1.36. At the halfway point in the six-year program (authorized in the 1965 Appalachian Redevelopment Act) the President reported to Congress (January 18, 1968):

116.5 miles of new highway completed
357.4 miles of new highway under construction
36 new or expanded airports
160 vocational education schools in active service
Over 170 new or improved hospitals and health facilities
127 institutions of higher education that had been assisted
Libraries, low and moderate income housing projects, educational television stations, water and sewer systems that had been established or assisted.

The Fiscal Year 1970 budget for the United States included a request for $287.5 million for the Appalachian program plus $175 million to be available in 1971 for the Appalachian Development Highway Program. ("News of the Region", Appalachia, February '69, p. 11)

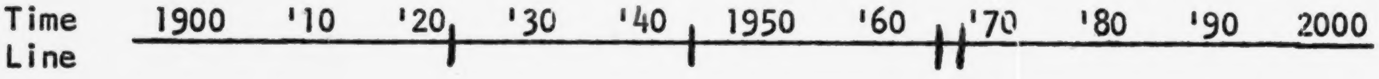
1.37. During the same year in which the above achievements were reported to Congress, John Fischer of Harper's Magazine asked from his department, "The Easy Chair", "Can Ralph Widner Save New York, Chicago, and Detroit?" He then proceeded to introduce Ralph Widner, Executive Director of the Appalachian Regional Commission: "...a one-time desk man for The New York Times...was 38 when he became executive director of the Commission...academic grounding in government at Duke and New York Universities; a Congressional Fellowship from the American Political Science Association...eight years of experience in both state and federal government...has a highly developed political sensitivity and an apparently bottomless reservoir of tact...he and his handful of 'co-revolutionists' use 'participatory democracy' as one of their working tools."

Fischer discussed his question (in the title of the article): "If he (Widner) fails, the big cities will fail too, sinking steadily deeper into their morass of disorder and decay....Because Widner can speak for the whole federal government, Appalachia is the only place in the country where the tangled skein of federal programs is being woven together to pull toward a single goal....If the Appalachian Regional Commission can show us how to turn the tide in Appalachia, it can be turned anywhere." (October '68, pp. 12, 17, 32)

1.38. The enthusiastic review of the Appalachian redevelopment program in the March 23, 1970, issue of U. S. News and World Report quotes Governor Arch A. Moore of West Virginia as saying, "Never before has there been a federal-state partnership quite like the one in this Act, and it works. Every single one of the Governors of the Appalachian States--and we cover the whole range of the political spectrum--likes this program." (p. 80)

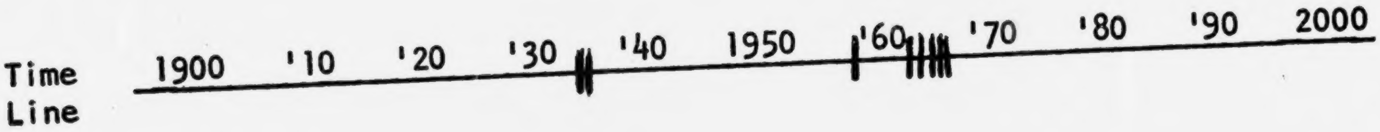
GEOGRAPHIC ORIENTATION

What is Appalachia? Where are the boundaries? There have been many answers since John C. Campbell, in 1921, used the Mason-Dixon line as the northern boundary. A glance at a few of the answers will indicate what "Appalachia" has meant to different people in varying frames of reference.



II.1. "Appalachia is an oblong patch of mountains and misery, stretching from a corner of Mississippi on the south to a corner of New York at its northern end. For at least a century it has been distinguished for having the densest concentration of poverty in America, and since World War II it has been getting worse." (Fischer, Harper's Magazine, October '68, p. 17)

II.2. "...near the tip of Quebec's Gaspe Peninsula the Appalachian Mountains have their beginning....In the Southern Highlands, Appalachian peaks reach skyward to five-and six-thousand foot elevations and Roan Mountain rises above the boundary between North Carolina and Tennessee....All the way down to Georgia, three-toothed cinquefoil grows....There are many living things that serve to bind the Appalachians into one mountain system--spruce-fir forests, winter wrens, golden-crowned kinglets, and Canada warblers, to name a few." (Brooks, The Appalachians, '65, pp. 1-4)



II.3. People today have a general notion of Appalachia as being a five-or six hundred-mile stretch of territory encompassing the mountain country from Pennsylvania to northern Georgia and Alabama.

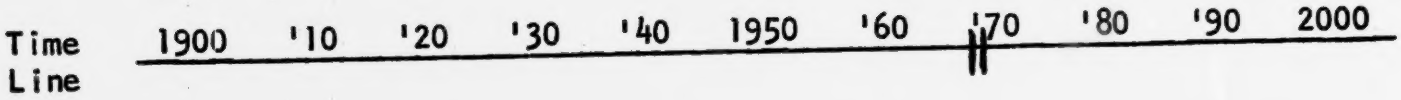
In 1921, however, John C. Campbell in his book, The Southern Highlander and His Homeland, included the land between the Mason-Dixon line on the north and Birmingham on the south, a few counties of northern Georgia, a corner of South Carolina including Spartanburg, a large area of east Tennessee and Kentucky, all of West Virginia, Virginia as far east as Lynchburg, and the four western counties of Maryland.

The United States Department of Agriculture in 1935 defined a smaller area: the mountain portions of the six states of Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Georgia.

A study of the Southern Appalachian Coal Plateaus, made by Frederick Tryon and Bushrod Allen in 1935, defined Appalachia in terms of its mineral resources base: an area about half the size of that in the United States Department of Agriculture study, all of which lay west of the Allegheny front. Georgia, North Carolina, and most of Virginia were excluded. (Fishman, Poverty Amid Affluence, '66, p. 124-6)

II.4. For the purposes of the 1958-62 survey of the southern Appalachian region, Rupert Vance describes the area as having the highest peaks and the most sharply dissected plateaus east of the Rockies, and as consisting of three roughly parallel strips: (1) a mass of mountains and hills which widens in places to a span of one hundred miles, marked by the Blue Ridge Mountains on the east and the Great Smokies and the Black Mountains in its highest area; (2) the Great Valley; (3) the Cumberland Plateau. (Ford, ed., The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey, '62, pp. 1-3)

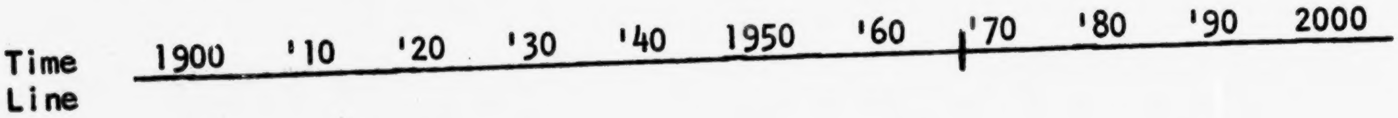
II.5. The Appalachian boundaries for the President's Appalachian Regional Commission of 1964 were established by the Conference of Appalachian Governors. The group of contiguous counties in each state which was to be included in the region was outlined by the governor of that state. Each governor considered such factors as physiography, resources base, and the economic and social characteristics of the population. Most of these counties had been designated as eligible for aid from the Area Redevelopment Agency formed in 1961. (Fishman, Poverty Amid Affluence, '66, p. 126)



II.6. The Appalachian Regional Development Act, in 1965, defined the region as an area extending from the Mohawk Valley in New York to the Fall Line Hills in Mississippi. These mountains constituted a barrier between the seaboard America and the Mississippi Basin--a barrier 1,200 miles long--and therefore earned a historical recognition as a single territory.

The region shares several common characteristics: the coal fields that stretch from northeastern Pennsylvania to Alabama; the steel industry that is established from southwestern Pennsylvania to Birmingham, Alabama; the flora and forest cover; the small farms on very thin soil; the prevailing culture of the people. (Widner, "The Four Appalachias", Appalachian Review, Winter, '68, pp. 13-15)

II.7. The spokesmen for the Appalachian Regional Commission refer to "four Appalachias". In the journal of the Commission, Appalachia, they are listed as (1) the Highlands, (2) Southern Appalachia, (3) Central Appalachia, and (4) Northern Appalachia. (Kublawi, "Urbanization and Regional Growth", April, '69, p. 19)



II.8. Ralph Widner, Executive Director of the Appalachian Regional Commission, describes the four Appalachias as follows:

1. The Appalachian Highlands occupy most of the hill and valley provinces from the Catskills of New York to Mt. Oglethorpe in Georgia. They are sparsely populated, heavily timbered, and magnificently scenic. The Highlands include the Allegany State Park and Catskill areas in New York, the Poconos and Allegheny ridges of Pennsylvania, the Deep Creek area in Maryland, the Blackwater-Falls, Seneca-Rocks, Smoke-Hole country of West Virginia, the Blue Ridge and the Chattahoochee National Forest area of Northern Georgia. This area is a highly diverse region--a region of eighteen million people as big as Italy, Austria, and Switzerland put together.

2. The Cumberland Plateau (Central Appalachia) in northern Tennessee, eastern Kentucky, southern West Virginia, and extreme western Virginia is a heavily populated area with the scattered homes so inaccessible that to get to them you must drive up a creekbed. Over one-and-a-half million people live in this sixty-county area of central Appalachia, and yet the area contains almost no communities of over 10,000 population.

3. Southern Appalachia covers the Piedmont of the Carolinas, the Great Valley of Virginia, Tennessee, and Alabama, and parts of northern Georgia. Here the rural population is already commuting to or moving closer to new job opportunities that are developing by the thousands in key towns and cities. The industries that have started this metamorphosis are textiles, apparel, and food processing, but many areas of this section are ready to move several more rungs up the ladder toward a more diversified economy less vulnerable to downturns in any one industry.

4. Northern Appalachia occupies the Allagheny Plateau, covering most of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and northern West Virginia, as well as parts of Maryland. Urban centers have long existed here. The long history of industrialization has been marked in more recent years by shifting markets and changing technology which have wrung a terrible price from many an old river town in the bottom of a narrow mountain valley. When its only mill and chief source of jobs closes down its misery is just as acute as that faced by the people of a hollow where a coal mine closes. (Appalachian Review, Winter, '68. p. 13-19)

III

DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS

The 1960 United States Census reported 17,726,580 people in the area covered by the Appalachian Act of 1960. This was almost one tenth of the total population of the United States at that time.

The general physical nature of the population of Appalachia can be seen in the publications of the sixties. The great out-migration of the fifties declined, but the birthrate also declined, particularly in the urban areas. From 1960 to 1966 the total United States population increased by almost ten percent while that of Appalachia increased by only three percent.

According to two reports on regional growth published in 1969,* the moderately urban counties of Appalachia accounted for a large proportion of the area's population increase. Most of the counties whose population did not change--or actually declined--were located in Central Appalachia or in the Highlands. The metropolitan areas of Appalachia, which account for about five percent of the nation's total metropolitan population, received slightly less than one percent of the nation's metropolitan growth after 1960. About half of Appalachia's total growth between 1960 and 1966 was in moderately urban counties.

The total United States population increase of 17,600,000 between 1960 and 1966 was highly concentrated in metropolitan counties. Clearly Appalachia is not following the pattern of national population growth.

(*Kublawi, "Urbanization and Regional Growth", Appalachia, April '69, pp. 19-20; Newman and March, "Pattern of Appalachian Growth in an Urban Economy", Appalachia, August '69, pp. 14-15)

Time Line 1900 '10 '20 '30 '40 1950 '60 '70 '80 '90 2000

III.1. The last half of the nineteenth century saw almost a three-fold increase in the population of southern Appalachia. It continued to increase through the first half of the twentieth century, but at a reduced rate. The number of inhabitants almost doubled between 1900 and 1950, reaching 5,833,263 at the time of the census in 1950.

During the period from 1900 to 1950 the population of Southern Appalachia grew at almost the same rate as that of the nation: ninety-seven percent increase for Southern Appalachia and ninety-eight percent for the nation.

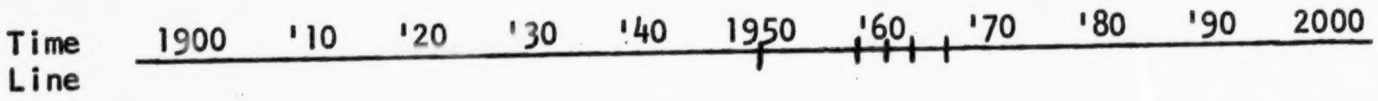
Decreasing employment in the coal fields led to a decline in the population of eastern Kentucky and West Virginia after 1925 and especially after World War II. Increasing industrialization in the Appalachian Valley and the consequent development of cities led to a growth in the population in the Valley. (Belcher, "Population Growth and Characteristics", The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey, '62, p. 39)

III.2. The Southern Appalachian Region as a whole had a decline in population of 2.8 percent between 1950 and 1960. (Brown and Hillery, "The Great Migration, 1940-1960", The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey, '62, p. 58)

III.3. A striking feature of population changes during the 1950-60 decade was the failure of the metropolitan areas in the region to keep pace with the metropolitan areas of the nation as a whole. The reason seems to have been that the metropolitan areas in the southern Appalachian region were simply not as attractive to migrants as most metropolitan areas in the nation.

During this decade (1950-60) the combined metropolitan areas of the region actually lost population through migration (the net migration rate being -10.1 percent). Natural increase was large enough, however, to account for a total gain in population of seven percent. (Ibid., pp. 59-61)

III.4. The South with thirty percent of all the nation's families has forty-seven percent of the poor families. These tend to be rural people, many of them Negroes. (Population Reference Bureau, "Population Profile", '65, p. 1)



III.5. In 1950 nearly ninety-four percent of the inhabitants of the Southern Appalachians were classified as white.

Of the non-whites, ninety-nine percent were Negroes, and they tended to be concentrated in urban centers. There was a small concentration of American Indians numbering 3,927 in 1950. Sixty-seven percent lived in Jackson and Transylvania counties in North Carolina and were Eastern Cherokees. (Belcher, "Population Growth and Characteristics", The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey, '62, p. 47)

III.6. In 1960 non-whites comprised less than seven percent of the total Appalachian population. Most of these approximately one million persons were Negroes and lived in Alabama and South Carolina. (Appalachian Regional Commission, "Health Advisory Committee Report", '66, p. 14)

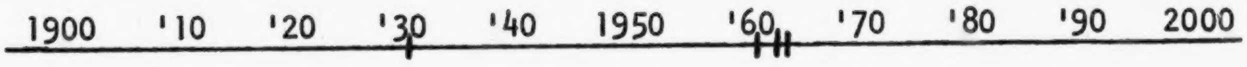
III.7. The population of the Southern Appalachians has, since the beginning of the Great Migration, been an aging population; and the trend may be accelerated by the attraction of people of retirement age. (Belcher, "Population Growth and Characteristics", The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey, '62, p. 50)

III.8 The more remote rural areas tend to have the highest proportions of males while the most highly urbanized areas have high proportions of females.

The Southern Regional Studies, made in 1958-62, found the extended family, including grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins, and other kin, was still basic to the social structure. This pattern was stronger in rural areas than in urban areas. (Ibid.)

III.9. The region is considerably more rural than the rest of the nation. In 1960 forty-three percent (more than twice the United States rate) lived in rural non-farm areas of less than 2,500 inhabitants. Four-fifths of the Kentucky and Virginia areas of Appalachia was rural. (Appalachian Regional Commission, "Health Advisory Committee Report", '66, p. 14)

Time Line



III.10. The 1960 Census shows 2.2 live births per 100 population in Appalachia as compared to 2.4 live births per 100 population for the United States as a whole. Infant mortality rates are obviously only slightly higher in the region than for the nation.

The Appalachian region had 1.0 deaths per 100 population while the United States as a whole had 0.9. Again the 1960 Census showed only a slight difference.

A study made in 1963 showed , however, tuberculosis death rates that were considerably higher in Appalachia than in the United States as a whole: 7 out of 100,000 as compared to 5 out of 100,000. (Ibid., p. 20)

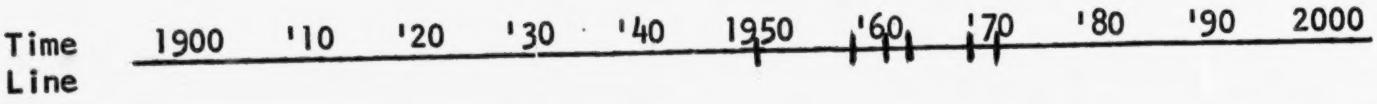
III.11. Fertility ratios refer to the number of children under five per 1,000 women in the ages 15 through 44 in 1930 and 15 through 49 in 1960. Belcher presents two maps of the Southern Appalachians showing fertility ratios by counties for 1930 and 1960.

The 1930 map shows a concentration of high fertility counties in eastern Kentucky and low fertility counties in the Great Valley of Virginia. As the distance from a large urban center increased, so did the birth rates. The degree of variation among the counties was striking, the number of children under five for every thousand females 15-44 ranging from 352 to 915.

The 1960 map shows a concentration of high fertility counties along the Cumberland Plateau while low fertility counties appeared throughout the greater Appalachian Valley. ("Population Growth and Characteristics", The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey, '62, p. 44)

III.12. A more intensive analysis of county variations in fertility ratios indicates factors such as the following to be associated with the variations:

1. Birth rates rise as median family incomes decline.
2. Birth rates rise as the percentage of the labor force engaged in agriculture increases.
3. As the percentage of women working outside the home increases, birth rates decline.
4. As the median years of school completed by adults go up, birth rates decline.
5. The higher the proportion of white population in a county, the larger the fertility ratios. This factor is different from that observed in the nation as a whole, and is probably due to the fact that Negroes in Appalachia are concentrated in cities. (Ibid.)



III.13. The 1958 attitude survey, made as part of the Southern Appalachian Studies, indicated an important shift in values with regard to family size. When married informants were asked, "How many children did you hope to have when you were married?" the most frequent answer was two. Nearly twenty-six percent of the respondents, when asked the ideal number for a couple that was not well-off, answered, "No children."

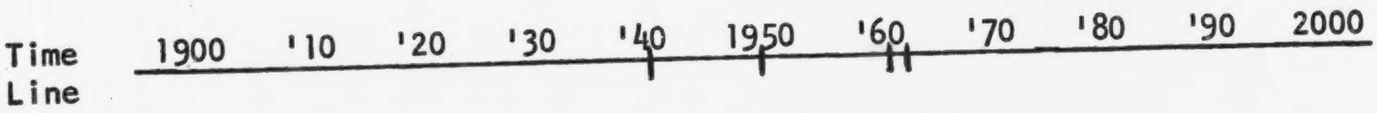
"...the change in birth rates in the Southern Appalachians indicates that families have discarded the large-family ideal that apparently existed in the past. Further, those in the childbearing ages probably practice birth control, although opposition is quite prevalent among these above the childbearing ages." (Ibid.)

III.14. DeJong, as a demographer, identified the great out-migration with its high proportion of young adults as the most plausible reason for the Appalachian fertility decline. This out-migration, however, accounted for only twenty percent of the variation in county fertility rates. Data from a regional attitude survey indicated that cultural factors were closely related to the changes taking place in Appalachian reproductive patterns. (DeJong, Appalachian Fertility Decline, '68, p. viii)

III.15. The rate of illegitimate births in one eastern Kentucky county was 67 per 1,000 in 1961, 82.8 in 1965, and 95.8 in 1967. (Bly, "High-risk Mothers and Babies Get Better Care in Five Counties", Courier Journal and Times, March 15, '70)

III.16. In some counties, it is suspected, there are babies who are born and die without any record of ever having existed. (Ibid.)

III.17. Middlesboro is a small Kentucky city which is watching population figures. In 1950 the town had about 15,000 residents. In 1960 the population dropped to 12,600. "Now it is up to 15,000 again and we are growing. We are anxious for the census this time, not afraid of it. We know we are growing steadily." (Hawpe, "Aggressiveness Chalks up Gains for Middlesboro", Courier Journal and Times, February 22, '70)



III.18. In the decade of the forties migration from the agricultural areas of the southern Appalachians became heavy enough to exceed, for the first time, the large natural increase in population. In the fifties most of the remaining areas of the region joined the agricultural areas in losing population. The two exceptions were areas in which employment in manufacturing was significant.

By far the greatest migration in the fifties was out of the coal mining areas. The population of those areas dropped from 1,175,000 to 957,000 between 1950 and 1960. (Brown and Hillery, "The Great Migration: 1940-1960", The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey, '62, p. 73)

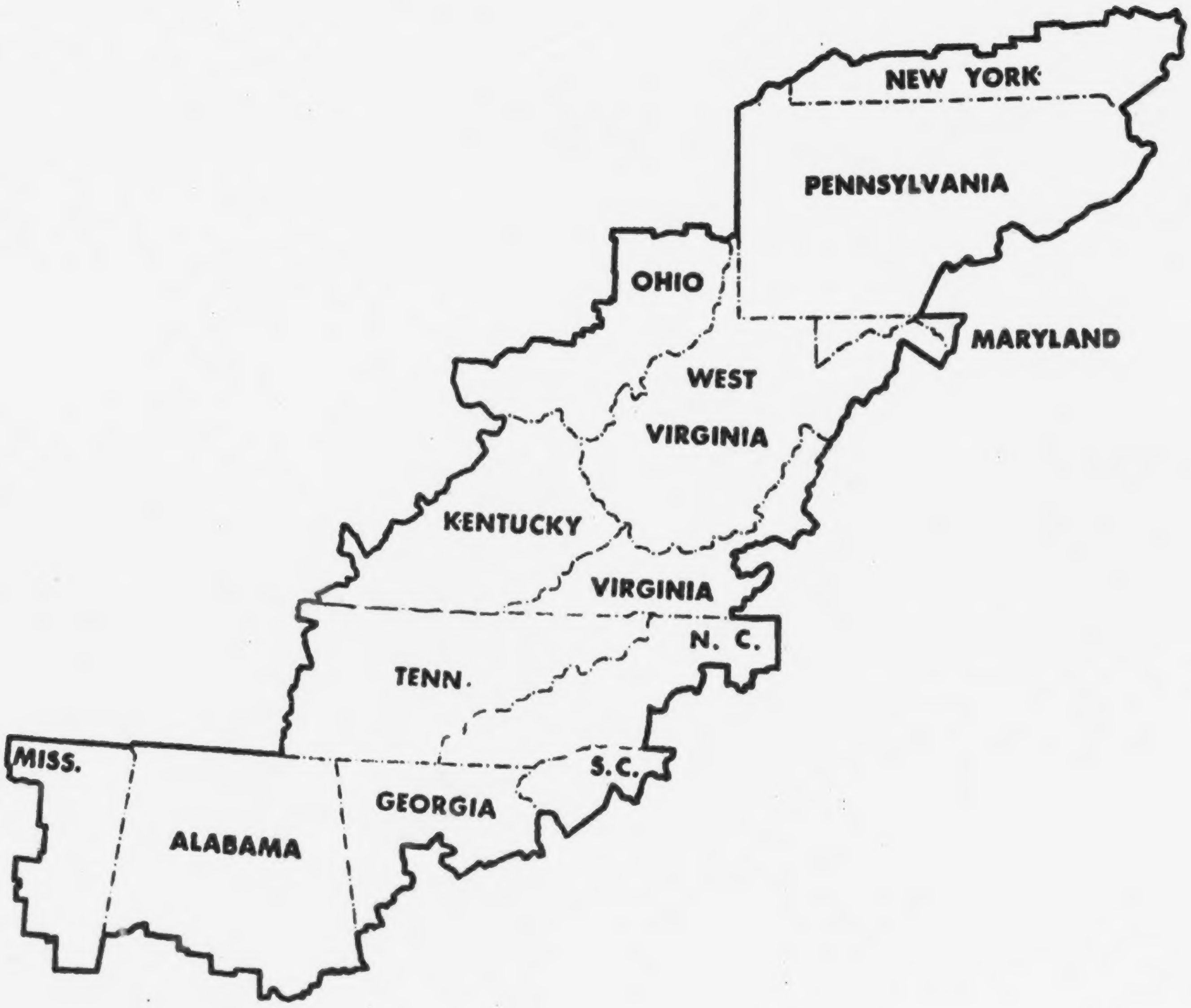
III.19. The migrant streams both to and from the region were overwhelmingly white. Only about four percent of both out-migrants and in-migrants were Negro in 1950. This proportion is smaller than the six percent which is Negro in the total population of the Southern Appalachians.

The migrant population is largely young-adult, with the age-group 18-34 years accounting for 49.8 percent of the in-migrants and 51.7 percent of the out-migrants. In the total population, this age group formed only 33.7 percent of the whole. (Ibid., p. 67)

III.20. Most adult migrants were married--as most adults were in the total population of the Southern Appalachians. Family units had a "built-in psychological cushioning against the shocks of transition" in moves from rural to urban environments, but they also had more complex needs for schooling, housing, and employment. Family migration tended to meet some of the problems encountered by migrants from foreign countries, and children often discovered they were carrying the burden of an inferior status such as that indicated by the names "briar-hopper" and "hillbilly". (Ibid.)

III.21. The observation that "the Southern Appalachian region is a collection of fringes" calls attention to the fact that mountain migrants were moving out into the nearby metropolitan areas at the same time that these areas were literally moving to them. (Ibid., p. 75)

THE APPALACHIAN REGION


NEW YORK
PENNSYLVANIA
OHIO
MARYLAND
WEST VIRGINIA
KENTUCKY
VIRGINIA
N. C.
TENN.
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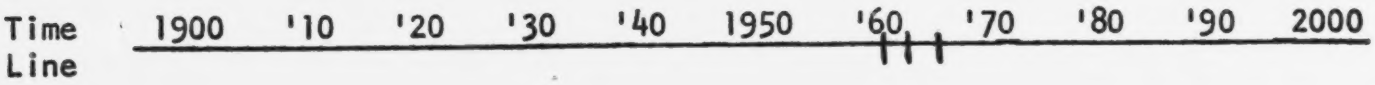


III.25. The population growth rate for the Appalachian region from 1960 to 1965 was about one-fourth that of the nation, or 2.2%.

The Appalachian portions of three states, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, and West Virginia, lost population between 1960 and 1965. The three states with the largest percentages of population increase during the same period were Maryland, Mississippi, and Georgia. (_Ibid_.)

III.26. The largest absolute out-migrations have been occurring in the northern part of Appalachia around Pittsburgh, although the largest out-migration relative to population size has been taking place in Central Appalachia , particularly in eastern Kentucky. (_Ibid_.)

III.27. Vance warned in 1962 that employment opportunities should not be artificially raised by long-range deficit financing. To do so would invite a repetition of the experience of the coal plateaus. Instead, population should be adjusted to the level which can be adequately supported by the resources of the area. An adequate level of income, measured by national standards, is a major test of adjustment.

Without some such guiding principle as this, forced industrial development in the southern Appalachian region--or anywhere else--is headed for disaster. ("The Region's Future: A National Challenge", _The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey_, '62, p. 295)

IV

EXPLAINING A WAY OF LIFE

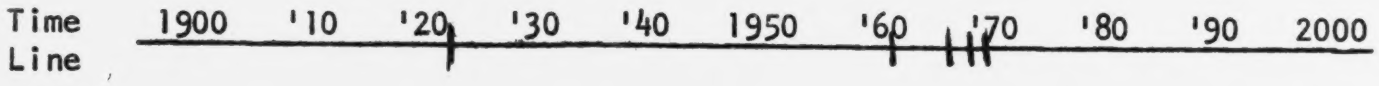
The person who works effectively with people, whether he be minister, teacher, nurse, social worker, or an observant novelist, spends much time and energy trying to understand those people. This is particularly true if the people have a way of life different from his. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that many "mountain workers", who come out of the upper middle class professional culture, should try to explain the way of life in the mountains for the benefit of other workers and for the edification of casual readers. Such efforts at explanation have been written and published through many decades.

A different type of explanation has come from several creative writers who are themselves Appalachian. Jesse Stuart, Harriet Arnow, and Thomas Wolfe, for example, have made it possible for all the world to know people of Appalachia. When writers of this stature meet readers who can "hear" them, genuine communication takes place.

What are these spokesmen telling us about Appalachians? And particularly about the mountaineer? For one thing, they are telling us that he has traits developed by the circumstances of isolation and having "to do without" which are different from the traits of an affluent, urban people. They are saying that workers from other areas, who must, of course, bring their own different culture with them as part of their personal equipment, must learn to understand the problems involved in the meeting of the two different cultures. And they remind those of the helping professions who are natives of Appalachia that the experience gained through a college education is quite different from the experience of people who dropped out early from substandard schools.

The spokesmen are also saying: Beware of thinking you really understand the problem of communicating across a culture gap because all the factors are changing all the time--and changing at uncharted speeds and in uncharted directions. Keep open. Listen to the meanings behind the words. Learn. Grow with the people you are helping. Ralph Widner talks about four geographical Appalachias. Culturally, however, there are many more than four Appalachias. And they are all changing.

Mountain workers know that if one works long and closely with large numbers of people who are weighed down by many complex problems, his viewpoint become personal, crowded with individual people and their problems. He has difficulty maintaining a broad, long-range view of the big, impersonal, regional problem, and he is likely to have difficulty maintaining an optimistic view of its solution. The collection of facts and viewpoints included in this bulletin tends to show a contrast in credulity (concerning change toward a better way of life for Appalachia) between those who work and live among the mountain people (Weller and Gazaway, for example) and those who study them from a university campus or from Washington, D.C. (Ford, Pearsall, and Widner, for example). It is hardly necessary to say that both viewpoints are needed; obviously they supplement and correct each other.



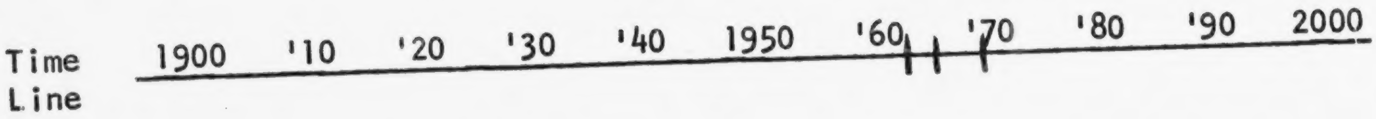
IV.1. Culture has been defined as "a design for living which is passed down from generation to generation."

Poverty in modern nations has a structure, a rationale, a defense mechanism--in fact, poverty is a way of life. (Herzog in Poverty in the Affluent Society, (Meissner, ed.) '66, p. 92)

IV.2. "A culture can be changed only in an evolutionary way. The culture must be taken where it is and a new cultural shoot grafted onto it." (Theobald, An Alternative Future for America, '68, p. 45)

IV.3. In 1921 John C. Campbell made a plea for surveys, for facts. He deplored the misrepresentation of the southern highlander by travellers who were willing to accept his "natural hospitality" and who then, after they left the region, made "sweeping, unjust statements about the mountaineer's way of life." Such treatment has justified the mountaineer's resentment of the outside world as he meets it. He has come to resent the term "mission schools", and he has learned to feel uncomfortable with the term "mountaineer" because he knows that it suggests a peculiar people with peculiar needs. (Campbell, The Southern Highlander and His Homeland, '21, pp. 20,330)

IV.4. Rena Gazaway grew up in a deprived setting in Missouri, was educated in nursing and anthropology, and has served in the University of Cincinnati's College of Nursing and Health. In 1960 she decided to try to understand from first-hand contact a depressed Appalachian area and its people. She further decided that the only way to do this was to live and interact with the families of an isolated neighborhood for a time long enough to become intimately acquainted with their day-to-day activities. This she did for twenty-four months. One of her comments that is particularly thought-provoking: The outside world takes on a different hue when examined from the frame of reference of the people of the hollow. (The Longest Mile, '69, p. 42)



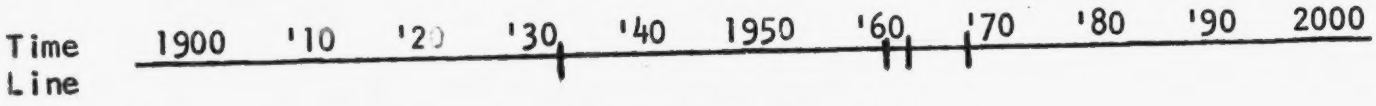
IV.5. The hollow,itself, where debt-ridden families survive on as little as $250 annually, provides the atmosphere of security which sustains the families. The people belong to the hollow "in a way that removes any need to participate in the outer world...." Their poverty is more than just being poor. Only by living the plight of these people could one begin to get the idea of deprivation which requires a shifting of gears from high living to low existing. (Ibid., p. 15,42)

IV.6. "There are, indeed, many advantages to the folk culture which modern-day America might well wish to share." Some of the real advantages which should be recognized and built upon are:

1. Deep feelings of belonging and of loyalty.
2. In its less extreme aspects, the person-orientation of the people which is refreshing in a country that becomes more and more willing to look upon people as numbers.
3. The freedom from being driven by the clock and the appointment book.
4. The freedom from keeping up with the Joneses; the freedom from social climbing and grasping materialism.
5. Humane understanding that does not shuffle the old off into a corner to die alone.

Perhaps the folk culture of the Appalachian mountains will make its greatest contribution in the cybernetic age to come. Much of Appalachia has slept through the industrial age with its intense competition; thus the mountaineer can spend time with a clear conscience. Perhaps he will have the concept of life and work fit for the new age--and will be able to help the rest of the country redefine the worth of a man in terms other than the nature of his work. (Weller, Yesterday's People, '65, pp. 151-160)

IV.7. "It is to be re-emphasized that the very attempt to present conclusions about the values and beliefs of Southern Appalachian people may create an impression of homogeneity that does not in fact exist...." (Ford, "The Passing of Provincialism", The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey, '62, p. 29)

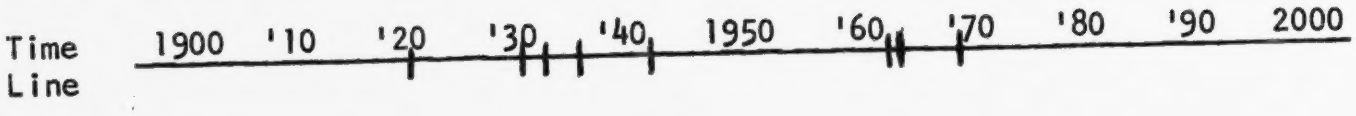


IV.8. "The pioneer mind", a term popular with earlier writers on Appalachia, is discussed by Harriette Arnow in Seedtime on the Cumberland. She says, "I found no mind I could hold up and call 'the pioneer mind'". Settlers on the Cumberland lived to learn that they were the last to plant British culture in the woods. Settlers who went farther west were quite often self-consciously American, but whatever the pioneer on the Cumberland was, he was not that. "As one delves deeper into the complexities of his social, intellectual, and educational life one realizes more and more that the purely physical aspects of his world were in a sense the least of him." This pioneer was a master at putting things together, at adapting his old learnings to the new environment; he did this with the physical aspects of his environment and in the patterns of his speech, the development of his educational system, the forms of his economic life. ('60, pp. 426-7)

IV.9. Appalachia was first settled from north to south by a wave of Scotch-Irish and English immigrants in the early 1700's. They entered the country at Philadelphia, following the Great Philadelphia Wagon Road into central and western Pennsylvania, western Maryland, the valleys of Virginia and Tennessee, and the Piedmont of the Carolinas. Then they found new routes to go deeper into the interior. Many of the early settlers, threatened by colonial governments which did not want them to settle in or beyond the mountains because of Indian treaties, purposely sought out isolated farmsteads up the hollows and creeks of Appalachia. In such sought-for isolation they removed themselves from the mainstream of the country growing up around them. Removed from the flow and influence of commerce, their physical isolation over the generations became cultural isolation and finally economic isolation. (Widner, "The Four Appalachias", Appalachian Review, Winter '68, p. 15)

IV.10. It is doubtful that, in the period of pioneer settlement, the mountains were regarded as a disadvantaged area. Long isolation in an area of lesser opportunity apparently caused the people living there to fall behind neighboring regions in economic achievement.

"Despite the earlier efforts of such men as John C. Campbell to call attention to the serious plight of the region, not until the depression of the 1930's when various New Deal agencies gave full publicity to the pressure of population on limited regional resources was the problem made clear to the nation." (Vance, "The Region: A New Survey", The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey, '62, p. 3)



IV.11. But even then (in the twenties and thirties) the poverty was not the poverty of the very large cities. The woods provided warmth for a family, and hunger to the point of starvation was not the lot of the small hill farmer.

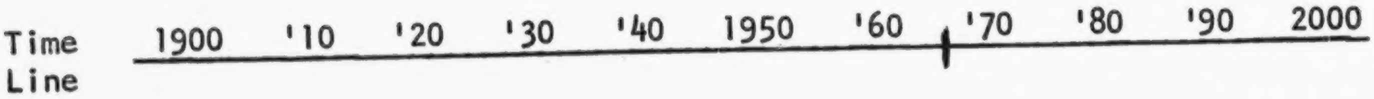
A rich life was still being lived by many families in the communities of the isolated ridges and valleys. The best homes were usually the older log houses. The children from these homes (as well as those from all the other homes except the very poor) went to the graded school in the small town on the river. Cash was in short supply, but there were ways to manage. Many of the men would be gone for varying periods to find seasonal work in the mines to the east toward Harlan, and the cash they brought home purchased the necessities that could not be grown.

World War II brought the Great Migration. The going out was different this time. The man left, found a job in the city, and then the wife and children followed. The means of earning cash never returned to the back hill community. (Arnow, "Introduction", '63 to Mountain Path, '36)

IV.12. "The first symptoms of spreading demoralization appeared in physical rather than human terms...." The rural mountaineer and his family were clean--to be otherwise was considered a sign of shiftlessness. Trash did not accumulate about their house.

But in the coal camps people lived out of paper bags. Trash and garbage were hauled away by the coal companies. And during the depression of the thirties most of the companies dispensed with this service. For awhile jobless families used their free time to carry waste to the community dump, but with continuing idleness pride and self-respect drained away, trash collected in back yards and on nearby creek banks. The custom of getting rid of undesirable and useless things by "throwing them into the creek" was allowed to develop all the force and acceptance of a folk custom. (Caudill, Night Comes to the Cumberlands, '62, p. 186)

IV.13. Some years after the establishment of the Appalachian Regional Commission I am unable to find anything that even approaches a miracle--just further deterioration and heightened deprivation. The tarpaper shacks still lean in Duddie's Branch. The "dead" cars still rust in the dirt yards and more carcasses accumulate each year. You can't see any of this from an expressway or even from a paved mountain road;you can't know that only a few miles from the highways rotten shanties with leaky roofs are lurking in the green underbrush of the mountains. (Gazaway, The Longest Mile, '69, p. 280)



IV.14. The picture that is sketched by these writers--of settlers who sought isolation, were bypassed by an industrializing country, and eventually became demoralized by a tragic combination of circumstances--leads one to ask: What kind of people are they? are their weaknesses? Their strengths? Their hopes and fears? Their values?

Pearsall reminds us that value-orientations are not either-or absolutes. They are only trends or central tendencies. And there is nothing inherently good or bad in an absolute sense about any orientation. They are simply facts of life. ("Communicating with the Educationally Deprived", Mountain Life and Work, Spring, '66, p. 9)

IV.15. Representatives of the helping professions have learned that people in the southern mountains behave in certain regularly patterned ways that are somewhat different from the ways of other American regions. And those of the helping professions also have a culture--they are products, largely, of urban-based, upper middle class professional backgrounds which inevitably influence their relations with others. (Ibid., p. 8)

(Table 1 on the following page presents a comparison of the value orientations in the traditional culture of southern Appalachia and in that of the upper middle class professional.)

VALUE-ORIENTATIONS IN TRADITIONAL SOUTHERN APPALACHIAN AND UPPER MIDDLE CLASS PROFESSIONAL CULTURES *

THE QUESTION	SOUTHERN APPALACHIAN CULTURE	UPPER MIDDLE CLASS PROFESSIONAL CULTURE
What is man's relation to nature and to the supernatural?	Man subjugated to nature and God, little human control over destiny; fatalism (both pessimistic and optimistic).	Man can control nature; or God works through man; basically optimistic.
What is man's relation to time?	Present orientation; present and future telescoped; slow and "natural" rhythms.	Future orientation and planning; fast; regulated by clock, calendar, and technology.
What is man's relation to space?	Orientation to concrete places and particular things.	Orientation to everywhere and everything.
What is the nature of human nature?	Basically evil and unalterable, at least for others and in the absence of divine intervention.	Basically good, or mixed good-and-evil; alterable.
What is the nature of human activity?	Being.	Doing.
What is the nature of human relations?	Personal, kinship-based; strangers are suspect.	Relatively impersonal; recognize non-kin criteri handle strangers on basis of roles.

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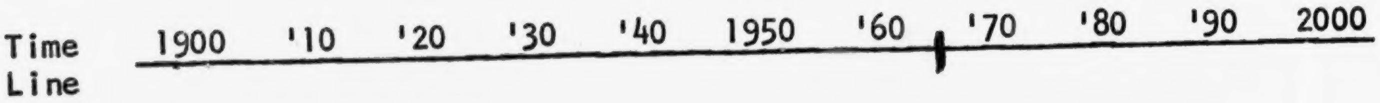
*Adapted from Marion Pearsall, "Communicating with the Educationally Deprived," Mountain Life and Work, Spring, '66, p. 10.

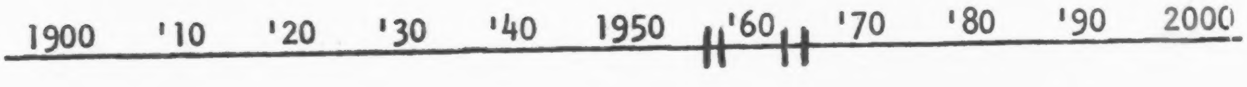


IV.16. Jack Weller describes six traits which characterize the mountaineer:

1. Individualism: a man works with his own gain or well-being in mind. The independence of the early settlers changed through the generations to individualism.
2. Traditionalism: a man has a "regressive outlook" as contrasted to the "progressive outlook" taken for granted by most Americans; he is "existence oriented" rather than "improvement oriented".
3. Fatalism: passive resignation is the approved norm and acceptance of undesirable conditions becomes a way of life. There is no rebellion, little questioning, little complaining. This trait takes on a religious quality as shown in the frequent statement, "The Lord knows best."
4. Seekers of action: life is episodic; the satisfactions of life are found in intermittent times of thrills, challenge, and excitement. The women can support routine better than the men.
5. The psychology of fear: the mountaineer, even though noted for his fearlessness in time of immediate danger, is a victim of intense anxieties. Children are made to obey through fear; there is fear of loss of approval within the family or reference group.
6. Person orientation: a man strives to be a person within the group; to be liked, accepted, noticed, and will respond in kind to such attention. Social relationships, rather than ideas, are central. A security of acceptance can be found only within the group.

(Yesterday's People, '65, pp. 28-57)

Time
Line



IV.17. A study made in 1957-58 of a Boston neighborhood called the West End, an urban community of Italian Americans, pointed out that the peer group society is apparently a class, rather than an ethnic, phenomenon. For example, the West Ender is a descendent of farm laborers who became blue-collar workers in urban America. A study of another neighborhood, Irish and Negro, disclosed the same peer group society and concluded that lower class society may be pictured as comprising a set of age-graded one-sex peer groups. The overriding aspiration is the desire to be a person within a group; to be liked and noticed by members of a group whom one likes and notices in turn. (Gans, The Urban Villagers, '62, pp. 74,90, 229)

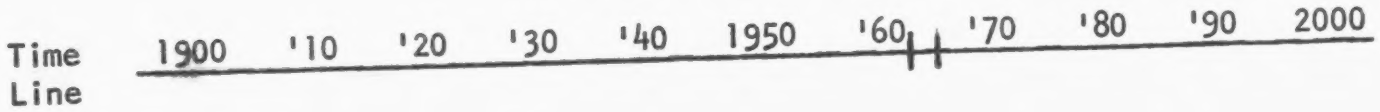
IV.18. At the very center of the mountaineer's life is the reference group. The mountaineer finds his fulfillment as a person within this primary group.

The members of the reference group are of the same sex, same status, and approximately the same age. Compatability is essential. There is communication between groups through persons who are members of more than one.

These groups exert pressure on members to conform to an unspoken, unwritten code, thus binding them to the mountain culture. To step out of the group would mean loss of identity. To stand out in the group or to try to change the group from within is practically impossible, for one would quickly be ostracized. And any outsider who tries to change the reference group is likely to find himself rejected by all members of the group.

Outside the group, mountain people are often uncommunicative, almost sullen, but within it they take on new life and expression. An individual's life is whole only in interaction with this particular group of persons. A child is brought up to become part of his family and part of a reference group--not to become independent someday as would be the case in a middle class family.

An understanding of the vital role of the reference group enables one to understand the ordeal that migration has brought to mountain people. "...moving is a kind of death" cutting the mountaineer off from his sustaining roots. (Weller, Yesterday's People, '65, pp. 58-83)



IV.19. The family (among the mountain people) is closely knit on the basis of emotional dependence rather than through shared activities. The husband is supposed to earn the living, the wife to care for the house and family. The disappearance of jobs which call for a man's strength and which enable a husband to support his family has been a great blow to the male sense of self--of worth. The wife, who is often better educated and more skillful in social situations, is becoming the strong member of the family. She is best able to make decisions and to cope with the increasingly complex world that is reaching in upon the mountain family.

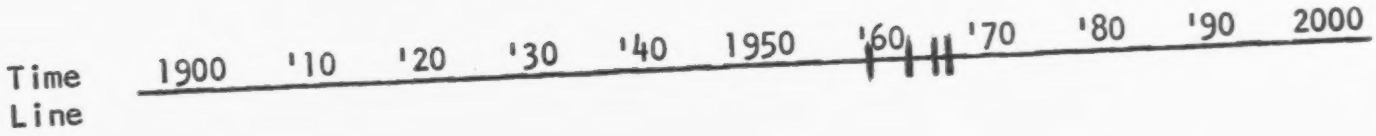
The sexes are uncomfortable together. The man's inability to converse with women is part of a traditional pattern.

Babies are adults' toys. Children are loved and indulged. They learn to listen, not to the words of a command, but to the emotion back of it. (Ibid., pp. 59,67,75-77)

IV.20. Adolescent society is very much unguided by experienced adults. Reference groups, particularly for boys, take over the training of youth and exert great pressure on them to conform to the group.

Because of his dependence on others, the mountaineer has not developed a satisfactory self image as an individual. When he tries to accept a role as a leader, he soon slips back into the personal, nonreflective role of the reference-group participant. When he must act in thought-out ways he feels himself at a disadvantage and will lapse into shyness and even fear. (Ibid., pp. 69,83)

IV.21. The types of persons named as leaders (in the study for the Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey) in itself provides some insight into the values of a society. Four out of five were men; slightly more than half were forty-five to sixty-five years old; they were all above average in education, income, and socioeconomic status. (Ford, "The Passing of Provincialism", '62, p. 25)



IV.22. "Stratification as it is known in other parts of the United States is absent." This comment refers to a "closed" community of sixty-four farm households, located a few miles south of Nashville, Tennessee. Here everybody is kin to everybody else. A member of the community works at being ordinary. He seeks the medium rank, the moderate state. This nonsuccess ideology serves the function of equalizing status.

Achievement as a normative base for an individual career is not only absent; it would be positively disruptive. Violence occurs when a family attempts to secure for themselves or for their lineal descendents resources in land, goods, women, or services that are believed to be in excess of those available to others. Thus these people "have achieved a remarkably equal distribution of goods and services within a remarkably egalitarian structure." (Matthews, Neighbor and Kin: Life in a Tennessee Ridge Community, '66, pp. vii-xxi, 136)

IV.23. The information above is taken from a sociological study of a community located outside of Appalachia, but one which has developed a cultural pattern similar to that of many isolated, "closed" mountain communities.

Weller says of the mountaineer: status based on possessions has never been structured into the culture. Relations are equalitarian. (Yesterday's People, '65, p. 80)

IV.24. "Most so-called 'mountain traits' are to be found in one form or another throughout the nation, particularly in rural areas." (Ford, "The Passing of Provincialism", The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey, '62, p. 11)

IV.25. "Until national developments turned away from them, the mountain population shared the general culture of many other rural and non-plantation regions." (Pearsall, Little Smokey Ridge, '59, p. 167)

Time Line 1900 '10 '20 '30 '40 1950 '60 '70 '80 '90 2000

IV.26. Religion is an integral part of the folk culture of the Appalachians, particularly in rural areas. It is largely independent of professional clergy or formal church life, being passed from generation to generation by word of mouth.

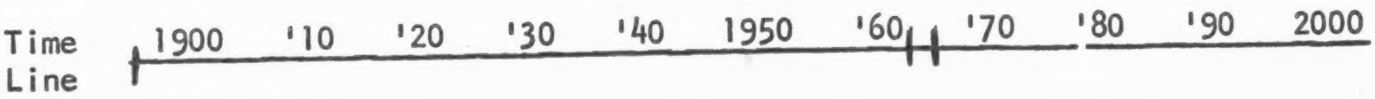
"Such folk traditions usually suffer decay and decline during periods of rapid cultural transition such as the present." In the case of rural Appalachia, two adjustments seem to be taking place. The sect-type interpretation of religion is returning to favor since it is compatible with certain types of cultural traditions in the region and meets a current emotional need. A different adjustment appears in the "fresh, if tentative, thrust of religious bodies with church-type views and liturgical patterns." (Brewer, "Religion and the Churches", The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey, '62, pp. 217-18)

IV.27. A study of attitudes toward religious education was made during the summer of 1967 in the Appalachian portions of West Virginia, Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, and North Carolina. The 277 people interviewed were all Presbyterians.

The findings of the study indicated that area of residence was the most important variable associated with receptivity toward religious education. People of metropolitan areas were more receptive than those in isolated areas.

Further finds of the study indicated that, in the rural areas of Southern Appalachia, "religious organizations are acceptable if they accommodate themselves to familism and to the emotional orientations of the dwellers....Revivalism is compatible with rural Appalachian life...salvation is achieved through a highly concentrated, episodic experience." Individuals report significant religious experiences outside of the church.

The author points out that Gans observed this same phenomenon in a metropolitan lower class ethnic group. (Nelson, "Attitudes toward Religious Education in Appalachia", Religious Education, January-February '70, pp. 50-55)



IV.28. "The basic religious tone of the region was established during the nineteenth century, which was marked by a series of religious revivals." Originally the Presbyterian church was the strongest church on the frontier, but after the late eighteenth century the Baptists and Methodists gained strength. "Present day sectarianism, like that of the frontier, offers as its major appeal a psychological escape from the harsh realities of daily living."

The study reported in the Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey revealed an increasing rationality in Appalachian religion. Not only are professional ministers being employed in increasing numbers, but responses to the question, "Which is more important in leading a religious life, conversion or religious training?" ran surprisingly high for training. Only in rural areas did more respondents attribute greater importance to conversion than to training.

Urbanization, increasing contacts with the large society, and improvements in education have all tended to weaken fundamentalist values in Appalachian society. "What would seem to be the case is that a working compromise has been effected between religious and secular values of such a nature that social changes once passively (and often actively) resisted are now passively accepted but not actively promoted. There seems little likelihood for the immediate future that religious values will serve as the main stimulus to usher in a new age or that the churches themselves will play a major role in initiating social reform programs. (Ford, "The Passing of Provincialism", '62, pp. 22-25)

IV.29. Weller quotes a co-worker as saying, "Television has done more to change the ideas of mountain people in ten years than the church has done in generations." (Yesterday's People, '65, p. 57)

IV.30. There is a great need in the mountains for "bridge persons" to the outside. One of the most effective of these is the member of the family or of the reference group who has migrated to a city and who comes home on week ends to tell his people all about it.

Another great need is for adult influence in youth reference groups. (Ibid., p. 154-7)

Time Line 1900 '10 '20 '30 '40 1950 '60 '70 '80 '90 2000

IV.31. Achievement aspirations of Appalachian residents were revealed by several questions used in the study reported in The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey. One asked how much education they would want a son or daughter to get. Three out of four said they would like for a son to complete college and two out of three expressed a similar hope for a daughter. Less than one percent indicated that they would be satisfied for a son or daughter to have less than a high school education.

More than 90 percent said they would want a son or daughter to take advantage of an opportunity to go to college rather to remain at home to help the family, and almost all of those said they would be willing to borrow money to help pay part of the college expenses.

Even though such aspirations are unrealistic in this region, they seem to indicate that Appalachian residents view higher education in much the same way as do people in other parts of the nation. They seem to recognize the value of education in an industrial society, and by doing so imply a willingness to accept industrial society and a hope that an oncoming generation will be able to participate in it effectively.

While it is not surprising that residents experiencing a rising socioeconomic status and educational level should have high aspirations regarding the education of their children, it is surprising that more that half of even the lowest status and least schooled respondents expressed the same aspiration. "Even those who would argue that such expressions are merely fantasies must concede the existence of strong social and cultural forces to make this particular fantasy so prevalent." (Ford, "The Passing of Provincialism", '62, p.17)

IV.32. "...three out of four respondents cheerfully agreed that children today have a wonderful future to look forward to. Perhaps most amazing of all, the proportion of optimists was practically the same in all categories of respondents--rural and urban, rich and poor, young and old. It is strange that with all the literature devoted to the character of the mountain people, little if any attention has been paid to this spirit of almost Pollyannaish optimism...." (Ibid., p. 20)

V

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

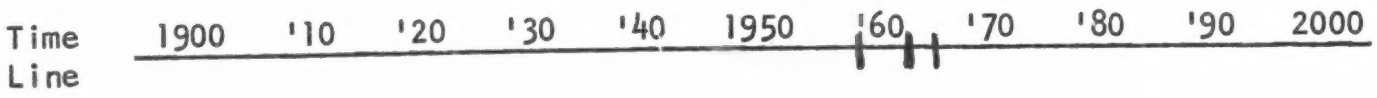
The economy that had sustained several generations of Appalachian families--subsistence farming with cash-paying jobs in the extractive industries--finally failed them. Migration and welfare took over. The economic problems of Appalachia grew worse until, at close range, they looked unsolvable.

The nation noticed,looked away, forgot, and then looked again. Local and state leaders were spurred to unprecedented cooperative action by the very seriousness of the problems. They began planning programs. They persuaded the federal government to legislate large-scale aid for long-range economic development. Fortunately for all, self interest on the part of the people outside of Appalachia finally identified itself with the improvement of life for the poorer residents of Appalachia.

Some of the best cooperative planning and action that the leadership of the United States has shown itself capable of producing has been directed toward building a base for healthy economic growth in the Appalachian Region. The economic future is beginning to be hopeful, even to be sprinkled with exciting possibilities.

The following pages contain only a small portion of the large quantity of published information on the Appalachian economy. This subject is not a particularly controversial one. There are, of course, some differences expressed as to how outside money should be used and how much should be spent, but almost every writer agrees that the old economy of Appalachia will not support an acceptable way of life in twentieth-century America. A new economy is taking over--either by default or according to plan.

The published information presents a complex and crowded scene, but there are paths that can be discerned and they seem to be leading somewhere. For example, migration is beginning to mean moving to urban areas within the region; welfare is being studied in order to make it less harmful; urbanization is being planned with the interests of both rural and urban residents as guides; new service industries are being encouraged as essential to the economic development of the region. The following paragraphs are selected to illuminate a few of those paths.



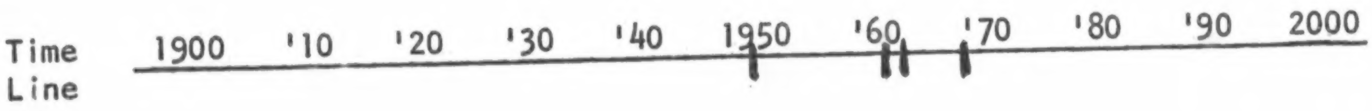
V.1. The economic situation: lack of transportation for goods, distance from sizable markets, inadequate water and sewerage systems, substandard housing and schools, little available land, and an untrained labor supply--how many more economic strikes could a region have against it? (Weller, Yesterday's People, '65, p. 26)

V.2. In the Southern Appalachians an urban-industrial economy seems to be emerging. The trend is evident in population and economic changes; it parallels the more generally recognized trend that has been going on in the nation for the past hundred years. The changing economy suggests that rural and urban areas are now sharing a common stake. (Gray, "Local, State, and Regional Planning", The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey, '62, p. 170)

V.3. Cities are no longer the compact centers which developed before the turn of the century. Population densities are relatively low even in the central cities; the area required is out of proportion to the rate of population increase. The automobile, bus, and truck have supported this metropolitan spread.

For example, Knox County, Kentucky, has tripled in population since 1900, but the amount of land in urban uses has increased twelve times. Crossville, Tennessee, a small incorporated town of 2,100 people (in 1958), had nearly 1,400 additional people living outside the city but within the immediate fringe area.

The great increase in "rural nonfarm" population within the urban counties shows that much of the population still classified as "rural" in the U. S. census is actually tied to cities. (Ibid., pp. 171-6)



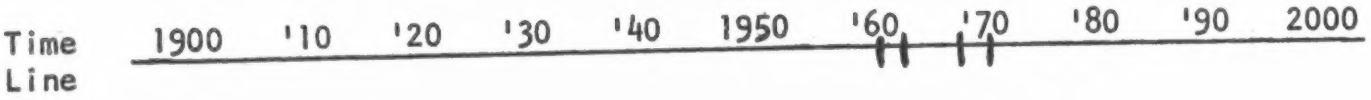
V.4. Urban growth brings demands for new services and facilities. These in turn require a more formal and elaborate structure for government and administration than is needed in the usual rural areas. But the region has given little attention to urban problems, is not equipped to meet the demands that accompany urban growth, and, as blight spreads and land values decline, becomes less able to support any form of sound and healthful growth. (Ibid. p. 176)

V.5. In an industrial economy the standard of success is purchasing power. As the gap widened between the growing purchasing power of the nation and the comparatively static purchasing power of the more isolated Appalachian areas, the region came to be viewed as an economic problem area. (Ford, "The Passing of Provincialism", The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey, '62, p. 12)

V.6. Employment in the Appalachian Region declined 1.5 percent between 1950 and 1960. During that same period employment expanded in the rest of the nation 17.1 percent. (Fuller, Employment in Appalachia: Trends and Prospects, '68, p. 1)

V.7. Large intraregional variations in economic prosperity (during the decade of the fifties) is indicated by the fact that changes in total employment ranged from a decrease of 44 percent to an increase of 29 percent.

Employment contractions were particularly large in agriculture and mining, and they were only partially offset by expansions in manufacturing, trade, services, and other activities. The great need is to find export activities to substitute for agriculture and mining. And the export activity with the greatest potential for growth in Appalachia is manufacturing. (Ibid., pp. 1-2)



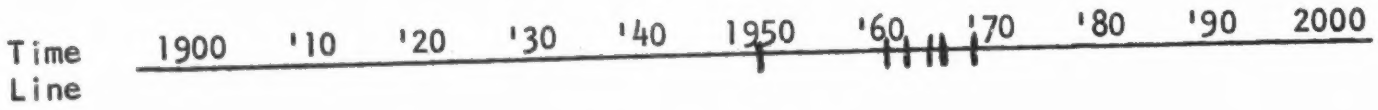
V.8. An eleven-state problem area reaching from New York state to Alabama was covered by a 1960 report sponsored by the Maryland Department of Economic Development. The study found an existing job deficit of 1,100,000 with 450,000 additional jobs needed by 1970. The function of migration was pointed out as a present relief, but recommendations of specific solutions were deliberately avoided. (Vance, "The Region: A New Survey", The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey, '62, p. 3)

V.9. "...area development must take place within the context of national economic development. It can be expected to expand as the national economy expands...it must be based on the economic potential of the region and its resources, not simply the economic needs--or wishes--of the local population....

Only if the region's metropolitan areas compete successfully with the metropolitan areas of the Southeast and the nation as a whole can they be expected to attract their share of the migrants who will continue to come from the region's rural areas. (Ibid., "The Region's Future: A National Challenge", pp. 293-4)

V.10. When the Appalachian Regional Commission asked a private consulting firm to tell it how to coax a lot of new factories into Appalachia, the answer included some surprises. "The traditional bait--tax exemptions, subsidies, the promise of cheap, docile, nonunion labor--no longer work as well as they did a generation ago. Moreover these lures usually attract only declining, low-wage companies....

"To hook a modern, expanding industry in electronics or chemicals or instrument making, you have to offer...a location where its scientists and management people (and their wives) will be happy...first of all, good schools, a doctor and a hospital within easy reach; a nearby university... smart shops, theaters, museums...a few good restaurants...and skilled workers with at least a basic general education." (Fischer, "Can Ralph Widner Save New York, Chicago, and Detroit?" Harper's, October '68, pp. 20-24.



V.11. Between 1950 and 1960 nationally fast-growing industries were attracted in larger numbers to large - and medium-center areas. The small-center areas appeared to be "conducive to the growth of industries in need of inexpensive labor." These industries were likely to be in the textile and apparel group.

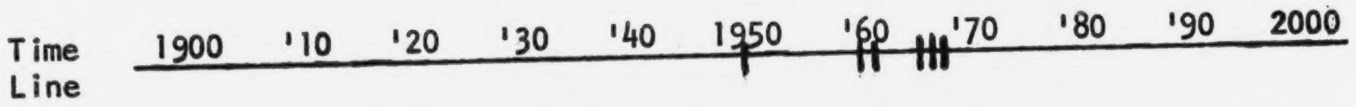
Food products, furniture, lumber, and wood products showed moderate expansions, indicating that raw material supplies for these industries were a positive force in manufacturing growth among small-center areas. (Fuller, Employment in Appalachia: Trends and Prospects, '68, pp. 26-31.)

V.12. The unemployment rate did not differ significantly between Northern and Southern Appalachia. Almost all Appalachian counties showed a marked improvement in unemployment rate by the end of the period 1962-1965, but of those that did not, most were concentrated in West Virginia and Kentucky. (Kublawi, "Urbanization and Regional Growth", Appalachia, April '69, p. 21)

V.13. The following statistics are quoted by DeJong from the U. S. census for 1960:

Percent Unemployed in 1950			In 1960
So. Appalachia	(males)	4.2	7.3
	(females)	4.4	5.7
United States	(males)	4.9	5.0
	(females)	4.6	5.4

These figures represent only those who have worked or are seeking work. Secretary of Labor, Willard Wirtz, is quoted as saying in 1964 that 350,000 young Americans between the ages of 16 and 21 were not in school, not at work, and not looking for work. In addition, there is tremendous underemployment in dead-end jobs. (Appalachian Fertility Decline, '68, p. 23)



V.14. The 1965-1967 employment growth in Appalachia has exceeded that of the United States. Thus there has been a slight closing of the gap. Between 1966-1967, however, although 63,000 new jobs were added to the Appalachian economy, the rate of growth in employment slipped behind the U. S. rate and the rate of growth in unemployed increased by .3 percent.

The 1967 pause in Appalachia's employment growth came mainly from slow-downs in manufacturing, retail trade, and contract construction. The slower growth rate in all three categories more than accounts for the lag in total number of new jobs added to the regional economy in 1967 compared to 1966. The U. S. employment growth in manufacturing was cut almost in half between 1966 and 1967, while the reduction in Appalachia's manufacturing employment growth was a little over a third. But because Appalachia has over one-third of its labor force in manufacturing, compared to one-fourth in the nation as a whole, the overall impact of the slow-down was greater in the region. ("News of the Region," *Appalachia*, February '69, p. 12)

V.15. In 1959 the Appalachian per capita income of $1,661 was 76.9 percent of the United States per capita income of $2,161.

In 1966 the Appalachian per capita income of $2,297 was 77.5 percent of the United States per capita income of $2,963. (*Ibid.*)

V.16. During the fifties an average of 220,000 persons per year were leaving Appalachia. Today the number of people leaving the area has dropped to about one third that number. In another ten years the movement out of Appalachia is expected to be no problem.

The character of the migration has changed, too. Once it was primarily poor people shifting to the cities of the Midwest and Northeast. Now much of the movement is into nearby areas of the South, such as the Carolina Piedmont or Atlanta, or into urban section of Appalachia itself. ("Progress in Appalachia: A Model for Federal Aid?" *U. S. News and World Report*, March 23, '70, p. 79)

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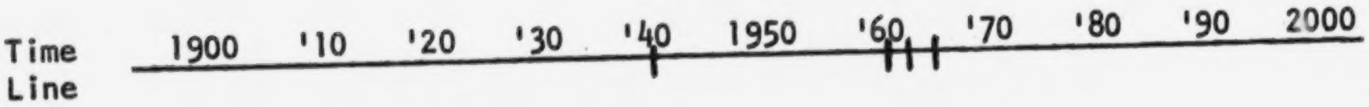


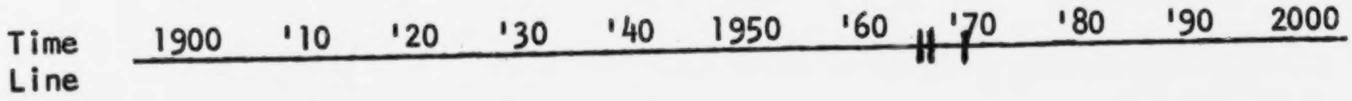
V.17. "Most important of the emigres...were the annual classes of high school graduates. Fully three quarters of each county's spring crop of brighter boys and girls left immediately in quest of jobs in other states." (Caudill, Night Comes to the Cumberlands. '62, p. 227)

V.18. More and more of the jobs in the cities are being closed to the migrant from the isolated areas of Appalachia. The nation's industries want high school graduates only. And even the boy (or girl) who has graduated from the high school in his mountain community is not much wanted--his education is not as good as that obtained outside the region. (Weller, Yesterday's People, '65, pp. 140-1)

V.19. It is to be expected that the factors influencing migration are complex. For example, four areas of relatively great industrial development showed a loss through net migration. They were Asheville, Charleston, Huntington-Ashland, and Knoxville-Oak Ridge. The industries in these cities operated at such a high technological level that large numbers of additional workers, and especially unskilled laborers, were not needed. (Brown and Hillery, "The Great Migration, 1940-1960", The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey, '62, p.

V.20. Twenty percent or more of the migrants from all parts of the region remained in the state in which they were originally located.

When in-state migration is excluded, the streams of migration tend to be from the western side of the Appalachians to the East North Central Region of the United States, and from the northeastern part of the Appalachians to the District of Columbia, Maryland, and Virginia. (Ibid., p. 66)



V.21. Hal Bruno, writing on what he calls "Chicago's Hillbilly Ghetto", says: "Unlike other postwar immigrant groups (southern white Appalachian migrants) have not come...to build a permanent new life." They plan to stay just long enough to find work, save a little money, and go back home where they hope "things" will have gotten better. The problem of this ghetto must eventually be solved "down south" where it all started. (Meissner, Poverty in the Affluent Society, '66, p. 103)

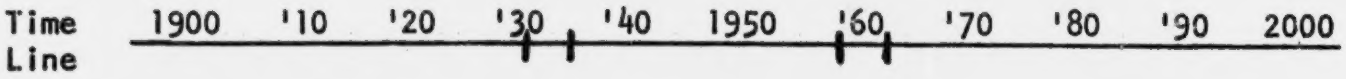
V.22. "If migration is one of the major solutions, what shall we tell people who seek to better themselves?"

A major dilemma in any program devoted to clearing out "pockets of poverty" is the lack of information about the number of persons with particular skills needed in particular places. The United States Department of Labor has done very little to secure such information, but there exists a very real reason for this deficiency. The best measure of relative shortage in occupations is found in wage rates that are out of line with wages in similar occupations in regard to training, hardships, and regularity of employment. Such favorable conditions are the goal of every well-organized trade union, and a true "under supply" of labor is difficult to detect and to demonstrate.

Training programs are simply one approach. Widely disseminated information about opportunities in so-called "under-staffed trades" is another. When no protection is available, shortages in labor by areas and by trade tend to disappear and wage rates to fall. If the mobility of labor is blocked, the conventional remedy taken by management will likely prevail. Rather than employ more labor in these situations, management has had increasing recourse to automation and mechanization. The mountain people are not only up against the barrier of improved skills, they are also up against the barriers of a protected under supply of labor power. (Vance, "How Much Better will the Better World Be?" Mountain Life and Work, Fall '65, p. 26)

Note the comment of a presidential adviser which appeared four years later:

"Much of the present urban crisis derives from the almost total absence of any provision for an orderly movement of persons off the countryside and into the city." (Moynihan, "Toward a National Urban Policy," Appalachia, August '69, p. 7.)

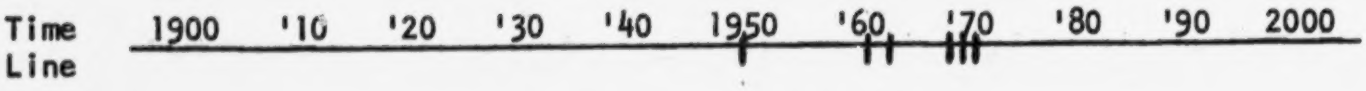


V.23. During the depression of the thirties a new dilemma was added to the problems of low purchasing power, joblessness, underemployment, and migration. "Welfare" came to the mountains and changed the practices of generations in a short period of time. "Without any lowering of the customary 'live-at-home' and 'do-without' economy, the application of federal standards made at least half the population in certain Appalachian areas eligible for relief. Public Works, the Civilian Conservation Corps, and National Youth Administration, all introduced the people to the money economy and increased their wants. " (Vance, "The Region: A New Survey", The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey, '62, p. 3)

V.24. A double burden was placed on welfare agencies in the isolated areas by the fact that self-employment and a lack of large-scale industry left many occupations uncovered by social security.

The dilemma thickened as the effect of residential requirements for aid became apparent: workers and their families tended to be immobilized in problem areas. (Ibid.)

V.25. The study made in 1958 revealed little evidence that the people of Appalachia ever considered the acceptance of public assistance incompatible with their value themes of individualism and self-reliance. The question, "Do you think the present relief and welfare program is a good thing?" was answered affirmatively by six out of seven interviewees. Two out of three answered that there was little stigma attached to being "on relief", and of the remaining third, only in some cases did they feel a family's reputation was jeopardized. "despite real differences in the proportions of rural, urban, and metropolitan residents dependent upon public assistance, and presumed differences in their evaluation of individualism and self-reliance, there was surprisingly little difference in their appraisal of existing welfare philosophy and practice." (Ford, "The Passing of Provincialism", Ibid., p. 13)



V.26. The mountain people were confronted in the fifties with a two-sided welfare state: the public welfare program, which included the distribution of huge quantities of surplus food, and the "giant program of the United Mine Workers of America."

The history of the mountain people contained no experiences which could have taught them to be grateful for such grants or to use them with restraint. On the contrary, their experience had taught them a cynicism toward government at all levels. "The 'handouts' were speedily recognized as a lode from which dollars could be mined more easily than from any coal seam..." (Caudill, Night Comes to the Cumberlands, '62, pp. 267, 273, 275)

V.27. Federal and state governments in the calendar year of 1968 spent $5.7 billion in four programs: Aid to Dependent Children, Aid to the Disabled, Blind, and Aged. Just over 50 percent of the amount was federal money.

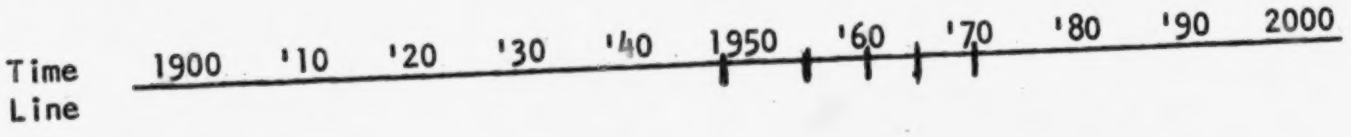
Public assistance payments (in Kentucky) increased from about $55,000,000 in 1962 to $135,000,000 in 1968. (Gazaway, The Longest Mile, '69, p. 325)

V.28. The rights of welfare recipients regarding the uninterrupted receipt of expected checks has become a matter for court rulings. The following cases were discussed in a Courier-Journal and Times news item:

1. The case of Emerson Pack, now pending before the Kentucky Court of Appeals, which, if decided in favor of Pack, would require that the state hear appeals before removing a recipient from the rolls, thus sparing him economic hardships while awaiting an appeal decision. (Pack and his family, residents of a hollow in Appalachian Kentucky, suffered extreme hardship when their welfare check--their only source of income--was suddenly stopped.)

2. The U. S. Supreme Court ruled in a New York case on March 23, 1970, that recipients in that state must be offered prior hearings.

3. As a result of the Supreme Court ruling, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is expected to hand down to all states new guidelines calling for prior hearings. (May 10, 1970)



V.29. Steps toward righting some of the wrongs in the federal welfare program are mentioned in another issue of the same newspaper:

The reform bill would for the first time make eligible for welfare the "working poor", thus abolishing the hypocrisy of a system that has torn families apart for their own survival and has encouraged welfare as a substitute for work. It would increase job training and require able-bodied recipients to register for such classes or for work. It would substitute a nationwide "floor" under the low payments available in some poorer states. It would provide at least some financial relief to those states which make the biggest efforts. (An editorial, Courier-Journal and Times, April 19, '70)

V.30. Chapter I of this bulletin contains excerpts from publications which discuss various efforts, private and public, to do something about the economic problems of Appalachia. These efforts were part of the several "discoveries" of Appalachia by the rest of the nation.

In this section a few excerpts about highways, urbanization, housing, and new industries will provide examples of what the region, with the help of public and private agencies is doing in the decade of the sixties.

From one point of view, the economic development of the sixties started with the rural road-building program of 1948-55. New highways--sixteen feet of pavement and a drainage ditch--were cut out of the mountains. They were cheap roads finished with dust-laying coats of tar and gravel, and within a few years the maintenance of each mile equaled its original cost. But they did break the isolation of the mountaineer to a remarkable degree. (Caudill, Night Comes to the Cumberlands, '62, pp. 269-271)

V.31. The Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965 authorized an "Appalachian Development Highway System" to be built in conjunction with the regular federal interstate, primary and secondary road systems". (Appalachian Regional Commission, Annual Report 1966, p. 15)

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V.32. The first year of the six-year program administered by the Appalachian Regional Commission saw construction well under way on the Appalachian Development Highway System. The "System" of highways could extend to 2,350 miles and could build up to 1000 miles of "access roads". (Ibid., pp. 1, 22)

V.33. On March 23, 1970, a national news magazine reported that the network of "2,700 miles" of roads planned originally had been cut back about one third because of rising costs. Of that 1,752 miles, 248 miles of roads have been completed; 422 miles are still under construction; 1,082 miles are being engineered or have right-of-way work under way.

"One early result of the road-building has been to make it possible to commute from Hazard, Kentucky, a mountain community with an excess labor supply, to Lexington, where jobs are available. Before 1968, the trip took three and one-half hours. Now it takes one and one-half hours." ("Progress in Appalachia: A Model for Federal Aid?", U. S. News and World Report, p. 79)

V.34. Nearly two-thirds of the nation's substandard housing and nearly one-half of its poverty-stricken people are in rural areas and towns of 25,000 and under population, according to a report of the Rural Housing Coordinating Group. Courier-Journal and Times, March 15, '70)

V.35. The Appalachian Regional Commission has a regional housing program that in a year and a half has generated construction of 4,848 units. This is roughly twelve times as many federally subsidized housing units as had been build in the period 1965-68. ("Progress in Appalachia: A Model for Federal Aid?" U. S. News and World Report, March 23, '70, p. 80)

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V.36. A number of Appalachian states have taken steps to capitalize on the potential of the federal housing programs and to help provide decent, safe, and sanitary residential housing at low prices and rentals.

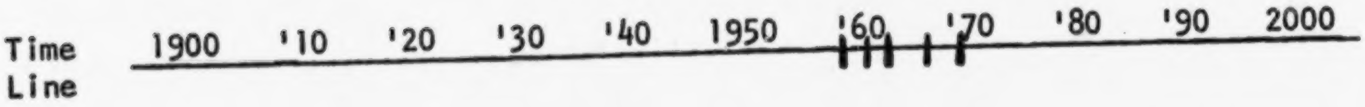
New York was among the first states to enact a housing assistance program. West Virginia established a "housing corporation" in September, 1968. Maryland adopted legislation in March, 1969, to establish a housing corporation, and several other Appalachian states are now investigating the possibility. (Moravitz, "Appalachian States Form Housing Corporations", Appalachia, May '69, p. 1)

V.37. North Carolina, for example, is considering a proposal that, if adopted by the legislature, will establish a new procedure for providing mortgage funds to lower-income families. The legislation draws upon a state's borrowing capacity and the administrative efficiencies of private lending institutions. If this effort is matched by private enterprise, the state could eliminate its housing problem in seventeen to twenty years.

The new construction jobs created by the activities of the Corporation alone would number between 5,000 and 7,500. The increase in annual local revenues from the real estate transfer tax and local property taxes would be $1,400,000 annually; other tax incomes to the state would amount to $4,100,000 annually. (Ibid., p. 3)

V.38. The Department of Housing and Urban Development gave financial assistance to 197 regional-planning organizations last year. Most of the agencies receiving aid are commissions of public officials and private citizens appointed by the state and local governments involved. (Courier-Journal and Times, March 15, '70)

V.39. The city of Paintsville, Kentucky, for example, now is working with an $884,000 federal grant to replace 115 substandard and mostly non-repairable dwellings. (Ibid., March 1, '70)

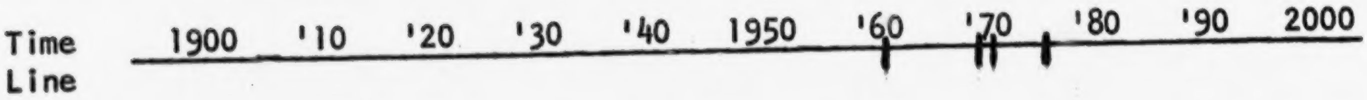


V.40. West Virginia has received a $32,250 grant from the Department of Housing and Urban Development for the development of a "new towns" program. ("News of the Region", Appalachia, February '69, p. 13)

V.41. The studies made between 1958 and 1962 which were reported in The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey pointed repeatedly to the benefits associated with moderate urbanization. For example, "Fewer now live in rural areas dependent upon subsistence agriculture and mining; more live in metropolitan areas that offer a greater variety of economic opportunities. The metropolitan areas of the Region, like those elsewhere in the nation, have enjoyed a relative prosperity." (Vance, "The Region's Future: A National Challenge", '62, p. 289)

V.42. Throughout the modern world higher incomes, better standards of living, and growing employment opportunities are closely related to urbanization. On the other hand, the rapid growth of the metropolitan areas accelerated the costs of social and economic congestion in our large cities. The result is growing national concern over the feasibility of deflecting some further expansion away from large metropolitan centers into smaller and medium-size centers where congestion is less, but where there is enough of an urban base to give an area a significant potential for future growth.

The 1960 census showed the United States to be 70 percent urban while Appalachia was only 47.5 percent urban. From 1960 to 1966 while the nation was rapidly metroplitanizing, Appalachia was in the process of urbanizing. (Kublawi, "Urbanization and Regional Growth", Appalachia April '69, pp. 18-19)



V.43. Appalachian Regional Commission planners long ago ruled out any "back to the land" movement or effort merely to bring in new factories. For one thing, they believe urbanization to be the process through which services of all sorts are delivered to people. Industries help recirculate payrolls and multiply the economic benefits.

The emphasis is on urban but not metropolitan growth--and also on making it easier for people to live in the country and work in the city. ("Progress in Appalachia: A Model for Federal Aid?", U.S. News and World Report, March 23, '70, p. 80)

V.44. While Appalachia still trails the nation in population and income growth , its most dynamic areas of growth are in medium-size urban centers. Counties with a total urban population ranging from 10,000 to 50,000 have not only outpaced the growth of the region's metropolitan and rural counties, but they have also outpaced the population and income growth of equivalent-size United States counties. (March, "Indicators of Appalachian Progress: Population and Income", Appalachia, March '69, p. 20)

V.45. "As the economy of a state or nation passes from industrial to post-industrial stages, increasing numbers of residents work in services rather than in the production of commodities. The growth in services employment is closely associated with the level of urbanization." (Ibid., p. 22)

V.46. In 1960, 51.2 percent of Appalachian employment was in services as compared with a national total of 60 percent.

By 1975 it is projected that 57.7 percent of Appalachian employment will be in services while the national percentage will be 64.1 percent. This increase will be due to sharply rising employment in (1) trade; (2) finance, insurance, and real estate; (3) other services; (4) civilian government. (Ibid.)

Time Line 1900 '10 '20 '30 '40 1950 '60 '70 '80 '90 2000

V.47. Experience shows that if public facilities are located in urban areas, service to a rural population is possible.

There are two aspects to the question of efficient delivery of services: how to establish a scale of operation large enough to be economical, and how to provide rural residents with adequate access to the services. Both must be solved simultaneously. Adequate access to an urban center by a large rural population is frequently the key. (Newman and March, "Pattern of Appalachian Growth in an Urban Economy", Appalachia, August '69, p. 16)

V.48. The following excerpt is a colorful illustration of the addition of a new service industry to one Appalachian community.

"...fastened to a lonely ridge above Hazard, Kentucky, the building and the 442-foot tower that stands nearby are testament that this is the smallest town in the nation to have its own licensed commercial television station."

"Service is the whole bag," the owner is quoted as saying. "Other stations reach into our area, but their...programming reflects Lexington, or Briston, or Huntington....Television should reflect the people of the area in order to serve them....WKYH is to be used in the building of a new Eastern Kentucky.

"One of the great ironies of this region is that we have always been great storytellers, and we have been able to laugh at ourselves, but the outsiders have listened to our stories and cried instead of laughed," continued the owner. "It is a communications problem...it always has been...and we hope to help solve it." (Hawpe, "Station with more Heart than Pulse gives Appalachia its own Television", Courier-Journal and Times, March 8, '70)

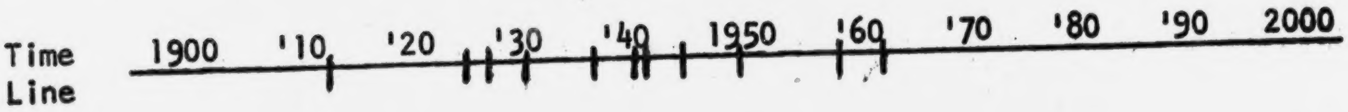
VI

COAL

For twentieth-century Appalachia mineral deposits have provided the natural wealth of greatest consequence. They include metals such as manganese, gypsum, zinc, lead, silver, mica, and small quantities of copper, pyrite, and gold; non-metals such as sand and gravel, limestone, clay, marble, and feldspar; petroleum; natural gas; and coal. But of all these mineral deposits, none has compared with coal in value.

The extractive industries, therefore, which have played such a vital role in the economic life of the Appalachian region are, first and foremost, the coal industry. The size of this industry can be realized from the fact that between the years 1950 and 1958 the Southern Appalachians alone were supplying just under forty-five percent of the entire output of the United States. (See VI.1.)

Coal mining in the Appalachian region followed a pattern of alternating boom and depression through the first half of the twentieth century. By the time the Appalachian Regional Commission was established in 1965 the region had already begun to see its future in urbanization with emphasis on manufacturing. And by 1970 a weekly news magazine could say that coal mining--although it is still an important industry--accounts for only about three percent of the jobs in the region. (See VI.9.)



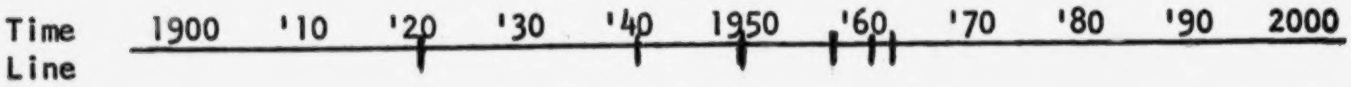
VI.1. In the late 1920's coal production in the Southern Appalachians accounted for a little over a third of the entire output of the United States. In the 1930's the national market collapsed with the result that coal production in the southern mountains dropped accordingly. The proportion of the nation's coal during this period of the thirties which came from the Southern Appalachians, however, rose to nearly forty percent. And the percentage of United States production mined in the region continued to rise. Between 1950 and 1958, it was just under forty-five percent. (Gibbard, "Extractive Industries and Forestry", The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey, '62, p. 104)

VI.2. The little town of Blackey, Kentucky, provides a view of what was happening in the Central Appalachian coal fields as a result of the shifting periods of growth and shrinkage in the coal industry.

After 1912 Blackey was nourished by eleven small coal camps. At the height of its prosperity about 1500 men worked underground in the mines. Three wholesale houses and rows of retail establishments did a thriving business. Optimistic merchants organized civic and fraternal organizations to promote the continued prosperity of the community, but less than twenty-five years later--in spite of New Deal pump priming--the town was dead.

The eleven coal camps were bankrupt and their properties were in the hands of a single holding company. (Caudill, Night Comes to the Cumberlands, '62, pp. 204-5)

VI.3. World War II and huge orders for coal from the Allied governments brought the coal industry back to life. But during the depression miners had become so disillusioned with the industry that their sons had no wish to dig coal. As a result the aging miners of 1927 made up practically the entire labor force in 1941. (Ibid., p. 219)



VI.4. The 1950's saw the human resources of the coal fields weakened by "Welfarism", idleness, and defeat at the same time that they were diminished by continuing out-migration. And this decade also saw the beginning of a terrible new emasculation of the region's physical resources. "Strip mining...invaded the Cumberlands on a vast scale."

In Kentucky the courts held that the right to mine gave the coal corporations the right to mine as they wished even if it meant destroying the surface of the land in order to reach the minerals under the surface. "The state's highest court held in substance that a majority of the people had 'dedicated' the region to the mining industry, and that the inhabitants were estopped to complain of the depredations of the coal corporations, so long as they were not motivated by malice. Since malice seldom existed and could never be proved, this afforded no safeguard at all."

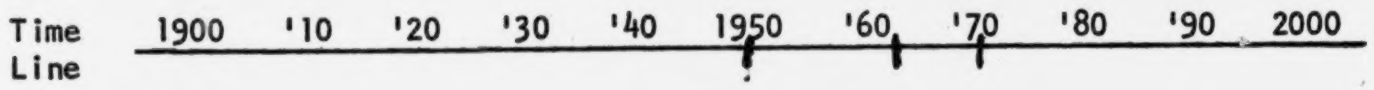
Coal rights bought at fifty cents to a few dollars per acre gave the mining companies a free hand to do as they saw fit, "restrained only by the shallow consciences of their officials." (Ibid., p. 305-7)

VI.5. The United States as a whole has seen a rising percentage of coal production from strip mining; 1.5 percent in 1920, 9.4 percent in 1940, and 25.2 percent in 1957. (Gibbard, "Extractive Industries and Forestry", The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey, '62, p. 108)

VI.6. In the Southern Appalachians, "stripping" means cutting shelves into the hillsides, or "contour stripping". There were 384 such mines in the region in 1957, but they provided employment for fewer than 5,000 men per working day and produced less than a twelfth of the region's coal tonnage.

Stripping is efficient. In 1957 strip mining produced 19.5 tons per man-day as against 8.7 tons for deep mines.

Auger mining is usually a supplement to contour stripping. It is used as a mop-up operation, and as such, it is highly productive, averaging over 26 tons per man shift. (Ibid., p. 109)

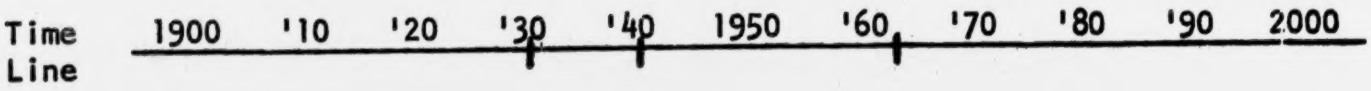


VI.7. In general, state laws profess to regulate strip mining. They usually provide that "the operator regrade the surface to provide for good drainage and replant the surface in trees, shrubs, and grass. The penalty for not doing so is the forfeiture of a bond ($500 per acre in West Virginia), which bond money is to be used by the state for the reclamation of the area....Too often it is cheaper to forfeit bond than to repair the hillside, and reclamation work proceeds slowly, if at all." (Ibid.)

VI.8. The 1950 U. S. census reported that of all persons employed in the Southern Appalachians 12.5 percent were engaged in some form of mining. Almost one-sixth of all gainfully employed men were in an extractive industry. This figure is to be compared to 1.7 percent of the gainfully employed in the nation as a whole who were engaged in mining. (Ibid., p. 102)

VI.9. In 1970, the March 23 issue of U. S. News and World Report stated: Coal mining, still an important industry, accounts for only about 3 percent of the jobs in the region. ("Progress in Appalachia", p. 79)

VI.10. In the area of most intensive coal mining in the Southern Appalachians, southern West Virginia, eastern Kentucky, and adjacent Virginia, the hills are steep and high and the valleys are as narrow as ravines. The usual coal-mining community occupies a few miles of one of these valleys, includes the stream that drains the mountain sides, a rail line, a hard-surfaced road, buildings lining one side of the road, and a row or two of houses clinging to the mountain side. (Gibbard, "Extractive Industries and Forestry", The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey, '62, p. 111)



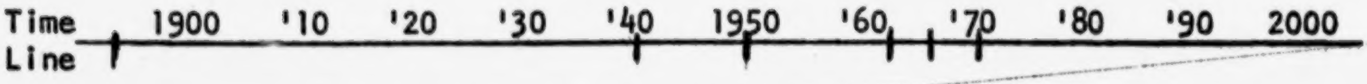
VI.11. Coal communities were usually built as company towns, but in the past twenty-five years, most of the companies have sold their houses and have disposed of some of their remaining community buildings. (Ibid., pp. 111-112)

VI.12. Churches in these communities are likely to be "community" churches, churches of one of the established denominations, "local outlook" churches of the fundamentalist type, and "mining missions" established by some of the larger denominations.

"An electric washer, a television set, and a new car instead of a new house represent a compromise between the miner's high wages and his insecurity." (Ibid., p. 112)

VI.13. During the thirties the coal miners of the Southern Appalachians began to be unionized. "The first agreement was short and to the point; it recognized the United Mine Workers of America as the authorized representative of the miners, granted them a 9-hour day and assured a wage of at least $3.70 per day." (Caudill, Night Comes to the Cumberlands, '62, p. 200)

VI.14. The availability of welfare services to miners and their families through the United Mine Workers Welfare and Retirement Fund softened the constant threat of the loss of work. This Fund receives its capital from the forty cents per ton royalty required from union-mined coal. The benefits included pensions to eligible retired miners, hospital and medical care benefits, funeral expense benefits, survivors' benefits, and small amounts of help for the families of miners killed or seriously injured in mine disasters. (Gibbard, "Extractive Industries and Forestry", The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey, '62, p. 113)



VI.15. The change in the attitude of the people of Appalachia from one of dependence upon the coal industry to one of enthusiasm for manufacturing is illustrated by the following statement from Paintsville, Kentucky: "Between 1892 and 1966, 43 million tons of coal were produced, but mining is not the whole key to Johnson County's future even though the total value of minerals produced there in 1966 was $3.5 million....In a cooperative spirit...Paintsville has gone about diversifying its economy." (Hawpe, "$6-Million Plant Boosting Spirit at Paintsville", Courier-Journal and Times, March 1, '70)

VI.16. From Middlesboro, Kentucky, comes the following statement: "When they announced a few years ago that Consolidation Coal was going to put in a $15.5 million mine ten miles from town, there wasn't much excitement. Everyone was very glad, of course, but it was not the same as when coal was the whole economy back in the 1940's." (Hawpe, "Aggressiveness Chalks up Gains for Middlesboro", Courier-Journal and Times, February 22, '70)

VI.17. Coal mining will continue in eastern Kentucky and West Virginia as a resource to be developed with fewer people receiving higher incomes and living in better communities. The closing out of mining operations that prolong poverty without hope of reestablishing a thriving industry can be set as a short-range goal. The old days of mining will never return. The level at which the coal fields can support the industry should be found as rapidly as possible, and the adjustment of population in the area to that level should be accomplished as painlessly as possible. (Vance, "The Region's Future: A National Challenge", The Southern Appalachian Region: A survey, '62, p. 295)

VII

FORESTS

In 1965 the Appalachian Regional Development Act called attention to the fact that the various parts of Appalachia share several common characteristics, among them the flora and forest cover. From southern New York to northern Alabama and Georgia, great forests contain commercial stands of timber. These forests are even more valuable as an economic resource because they are dispersed in significant amounts throughout Appalachia. Furthermore, the region represents one of the major reservoirs of forest products for the nation. In both the regional and the national interest, then, forestry and wood-processing in Appalachia are important.

Fortunately for the people of Appalachia, both the forest land itself and the processing mills are not only dispersed geographically, but decentralized to a considerable extent in operation and ownership. Although the decentralization into many small holdings and small operations invites mismanagement and inefficiency, the circumstance may also be viewed as a challenge to cooperation and education.

The potential benefits from a well-managed industry can flow to large numbers of persons. And peculiar significance attaches to the fact that this industry, based on a growing, renewable resource--a "tree crop"--is well adapted to the mountainous areas in Appalachia where coal once ruled.

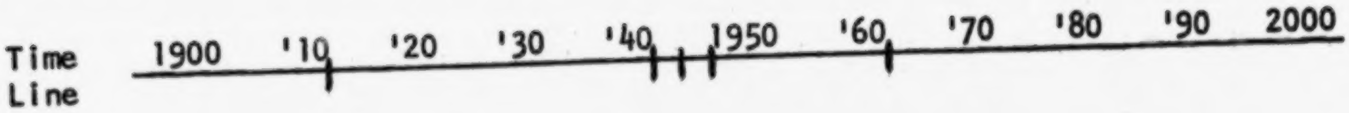
In these depressed, strip-mined areas, well-managed forests providing more jobs immediately, newly reforested hillsides producing new timber for the next generation of young men to work, new wood-using industries bringing new payrolls into the area, ugly communities made beautiful by new skills and new interests centered on growing trees which would also increase the tourism potential of the area--the possibilities grip the imagination.

Two percent of the labor force in southern Appalachia was, in the early sixties, employed in forestry and primary wood processing, and this percentage can be expected to increase as the industry is developed. The magnitude of the progress that is possible is shown by a six-county study in the Tennessee Valley (See VII.14.) which estimated that a six-fold increase in income would follow improved forest management procedures.

Some of the steps which should be taken to improve the forest industry seem evident. Children and adults throughout Appalachia, and visitors as well, should have information through schools, the general media, and adult classes on the protection of forest resources and on the possibilities of development in the forest industries. Owners and operators of forest land need education and assistance to establish their holdings on more profitable sustained-yield bases. Cooperative mechanisms apparently need to be created so that protection from fire, blight, and insects can be strengthened. Cooperative marketing organizations are clearly needed to give producers strength in bargaining and efficiency in supplying timber. Long range planning and development seem essential to meet the pulpwood needs of the expanding paper industry.

Beyond these more easily identifiable measures, solutions are needed to several difficult problems. The pattern of low wages in the entire industry and of part-time, irregular, and short-term work in the mills has failed to yield a basis for job commitment and has damaged the security of the workers. For both mill workers and forest land owners and operators, human tragedy is invited by a system which lacks minimum wage protection, unemployment protection, accident and illness and retirement protection.

Significant avenues for the advancement of Appalachia emerge from the data available on the forestry industry. Improvement can be expected, throughout the entire region, from efforts devoted to adult education in forest management among small landholders, from cooperative forestry protection and marketing development, from the creation of new wood-using industry in the area, and from improved social legislation.

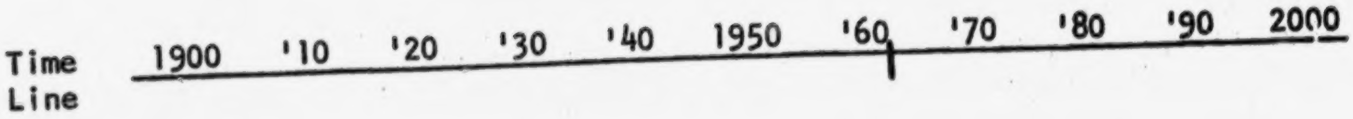


VII.1. The original forests of Appalachia stretched southward from New England in great stands of oak, chestnut, yellow-popular, cherry, beech, maple, ash, white pine, hemlock, and, at higher elevations, spruce, and fir. During and after the Civil War, the railroads crept up the valleys in search of coal; oil brought them into the Pennsylvania highlands. With assured rail shipment out to an expanding nation, the large sawmills came into the mountains. (Mattoon, "Appalachian Comeback", Trees, '49, p. 305)

VII.2. Mammoth logging operations cut out most of the large timber by the middle forties. Then the cutters turned their attention to the smaller trees.

Early in World War II, agents came into the forests with contracts from Winchester, Remington and other rifle manufacturers and sought out most of the remaining walnut trees. The sawmills quickly turned them into lengths ready for the arms makers. "Hundreds of thousands of military rifles and carbines were stocked with rich, dark, finely grained wood from the hollows of the plateau." (Caudill, Night Comes to the Cumberlands, '62, p. 220, 252-4)

VII.3. A few far-seeing men succeeded in securing congressional action on legislation (Weeks Law, 1911) which made it possible for the federal government to purchase areas of wild lands on the headwaters of the navigable rivers. As a result there are now large tracts of land set aside for the purpose of conserving certain remaining forests. The Cumberland National Forest covers a part of the Cumberland Plateau in Kentucky, the Washington and Jefferson National Forests are in Virginia, the Monongahela National Forest is in the eastern part of West Virginia, the Nantahala and Pisgah National Forests are in western North Carolina, the Cherokee National Forest is in northern Georgia. (Morris, 'The Potential of Tourism", The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey, '62, p. 141)



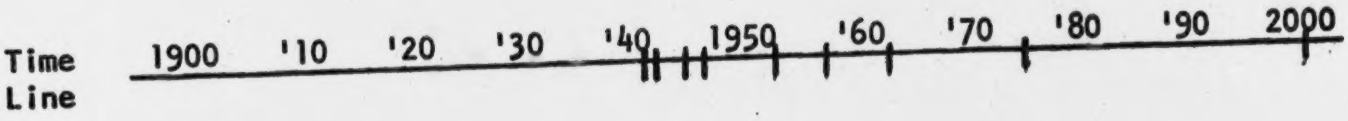
VII.4. Forestry and the processing of wood products are second to coal, third to farming in the economy of the Southern Appalachian region. This area has double the coverage of forest of the rest of the nation, two-thirds of Appalachia being forested as compared to 34 percent of the total United States land surface. (Gibbard, "Extractive Industries and Forestry", The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey, '62, p. 114)

Note: In this reference, "Southern Appalachia" is defined as an area including 190 counties in seven states: Kentucky, West Virginia, Virginia, Tennessee, North Carolina, Alabama, and Georgia.

VII.5. Southern Appalachian forests are more available to commercial developments than are forests nationally. About 70 percent of the total United States forest area is classed as commercial while "nearly all" of the forest portions of this forest land in southern Appalachia are under municipal, state, national, Indian, T.V.A., industrial and farm ownership.

Another measure of the potential of an area for supporting a forest-products industry is simply the proportion of land that is forested. Less than a quarter of the nation's surface is in commercial forest while more than half of the surface of Southern Appalachia is in commercial forest. (Ibid.)

VII.6. Although Southern Appalachia has both hardwood (including oak, maple, beech, hickory, birch, sycamore, and willow) and softwood (especially pine), the hardwoods dominate. In fact, the boundaries of the Southern Appalachian forests correspond closely with those of the entire Appalachian hardwood region. Nationally, the two types of forests are about equal in area, but in Southern Appalachia over 80 percent of the standing saw timber is hardwood. (Ibid.)



VII.7. The demand for hardwood (mine timber, posts, and saw-timber) has been declining since World War II while the demand for softwood (spruce and pine for pulpwood in paper) has been growing.

A North Carolina hardwood area had 747 mills in 1942 and produced 237,000 MBF (thousand board feet). That same area in 1947 had 642 mills producing 155,000 MBF, and in 1957 it had 374 mills producing 101,000 MBF.

West Virginia production dropped in the same years from 1315 mills producing 561,000 MBF to 899 mills producing 415,000 MBF.

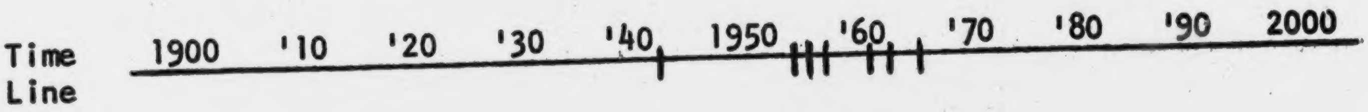
Although hardwoods are short-fibered, and quality papers are not manufactured from them, many present uses of paper do not require a high quality material, and new processes make the conversion of hardwood pulp bolts to paper more efficient. It is generally believed, therefore, that hardwood pulp will be used more extensively in the future. (Ibid., p. 117)

VII.8. Nationally, the demand for pulpwood is expected to continue increasing. United States pulpwood consumption was 19.7 million standard cords (4'x4'x8') in 1947; 26.5 million in 1952; and approximately 35.7 million in 1957. Consemption is projected at 56 million cords in 1975, and 190 million cords by the end of the century. (Ibid., p. 116)

VII.9. Two-thirds of the supply of wood needed to meet the growing demands of pulp-mills is bought on contract. The other third comes from company-owned land. Many of the suppliers under contract are small landowners who receive no wage, social security, or other labor protection from the system. (Ibid., p. 116)

VII.10. The ownership of forested areas forms a pattern of many small holdings and relatively few large holdings. Five-sixths of all forested areas are privately owned.

In West Virginia, where industrial ownership of large plots is more common than elsewhere in Appalachia, 40 percent of the total forest acreage is, nevertheless, held in plots of less than 100 acres and two-thirds of the plots are under 500 acres. (Ibid., p. 115)



VII.11. **Logging and lumber camps have almost disappeared.** In five Appalachian states as recently as 1942 there were 313 camps with more than 6000 employees. By the time of the early sixties, there were no more than three or four camps.

The dominant pattern for primary wood processing is the small, portable sawmill or planing mill. The 1954 Census of Manufacturing reported 2732 timber processing establishments distributed among all but two of the 190 counties of Southern Appalachia. Nine out of ten of these establishments had fewer than twenty employees. It is estimated that half of the mills had fewer than five workers. (Ibid., pp. 117-18)

VII.12. Temporary, irregular, and low-pay employment is characteristic of the mills. A 1957 North Carolina study of 301 sawmills reported an average crew of seven men who worked 65 days in the year at about $10 per day. A 1956 West Virginia report gave wages of $1.00 an hour as typical, with the annual payroll of some of the smaller operators averaging less than one thousand dollars per worker. (Ibid., p. 118)

VII.13. Of the total number of people employed in the 190 counties of southern Appalachia in 1962, about two percent were employed in forestry and primary processing of wood. In numbers, this two percent represents an estimated 30,000 to 40,000 persons, many employed only part time. (Ibid., p. 114)

Time Line 1900 '10 '20 '30 '40 1950 '60 '70 '80 '90 2000

VII.14. The income from privately held forest in Appalachia, both industrial and farm, is far below what could be obtained by improved timber management and marketing. A six-county study in the Tennessee Valley forecasts a six-fold increase in stumpage income from optimum management procedures: "reforesting some areas, reinforcing understocked forest land, removing culls, converting forest lands to the optimum kind of timber for each area, eliminating grazing, and controlling fires, insects, and diseases, and developing new markets".

In addition to increasing income six-fold as the study predicts, woods employment should increase five-fold. (Ogden, "The Forest Economy of a Six-County Area in the Tennessee Valley," Tennessee Valley Authority, Division of Forestry Relations, '59, as reported in Gibbard, "Extractive Industries and Forestry", The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey, '62, pp. 115-16)

VII.15. Reforestation has been stimulated throughout Appalachia (and the nation) by the activities of the Tennessee Valley Authority. "TVA has grown more than 425 million tree seedlings for reforestation and most of these have been used in the Valley....TVA has devoted time and energy to the problem of encouraging private owners to place the Valley's forests on a sustained yield basis, under scientific management, because their woodlands can be an important factor in producing a better living and a stronger economy." (Jones, "TVA Serves Us Well", Mountain Life and Work, '59, p. 26)

VII.16. Concurrent with the need for improved management of forest lands is the need for improved systems available to landowners--particularly small landowners--for fire prevention and control of harmful blight and insects.

As the forest yield is raised both in quantity and quality, new wood-using industries should be attracted to the forested areas. And that means new industries, based on a renewable resource, for the more isolated mountainous areas of the Southern Appalachians. (Gibbard, "Extractive Industries and Forestry", The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey, '62, p. 119)

VIII

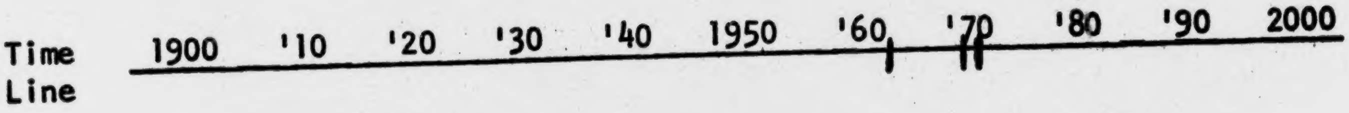
AGRICULTURE

The basic agricultural problem in Appalachia can be stated very simply. Too many people try to live on the available land. Even with improved methods of farming, the income will not support adequately the number of farm families still trying to live by farming.

The necessary adjustment is being made, however, largely through the adoption of part-time farming combined with a wage-paying job and the migration of young people to urban centers in the region and beyond it. Practically all the agencies working in Appalachia now encourage such adjustments and help farm families work out the necessary details. Certainly the guidance of the educated leadership of Appalachia is needed by rural families who must face the difficult questions: Does farming hold enough economic promise for us to stay on our farm? If not, where do we go? What can we do for a living? How can we learn?

Rural neighborhoods will change, of course. Some of them will disappear entirely. The hollows farther up the creeks are increasingly populated by the old people left behind when their children moved to the city--or to a better farm on a better road in a broader valley. When the old people die, their house may stand empty until it falls apart. But the death of some of the poorer farming neighborhoods does not mean that agriculture has no future in Appalachia. The farms in the relatively broad valleys can be enlarged until they will support an efficient operation of the more extensive type of farming such as the raising of grain, sheep, hogs, or beef cattle. Thus, a smaller number of farmers can compete successfully with contemporary agriculture anywhere. Increasing urban populations will encourage some nearby farmers to produce milk, eggs, and fresh vegetables for a local market.

An important role is being played and will continue to be played in rural communities by the agricultural extension agents, by teachers of vocational education in the schools, and by leaders of adult education. These people need to be aware of the changes that are taking place in the local community, the urban centers, the region, and the nation. Then they must be able to apply that knowledge and understanding to the specific and individual adjustments that are confronting the adults and young people with whom they work every day.



VIII.1. The subdividing of small farms for complete family income should be discouraged. (Proctor and White, "Agriculture: A Reassessment", The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey, '62, p. 101)

VIII.2. Many communities still have room for much expansion in milk production. Fresh eggs and fresh vegetables find a ready market in urbanizing areas and other economic opportunities open up for farmers as the local demand for food and raw materials increases.

Another major economic opportunity available to farmers living near an urban area is the possibility of earning income from regular employment while continuing a certain amount of farming. (Ibid.)

VIII.3. Paintsville, Kentucky, offers an example of a small city which has gone about diversifying its economy. Although the big news is the establishment of a $6,000,000 plant that will manufacture ultra-modern bathroom appliances and that will employ more than 450 people, the city is "supporting" a group of agricultural projects.

"Johnson County growers produced about 50,000 bushels of apples in 1969 for an income of more than $100,000...Tobacco is still the main cash crop, and Paintsville's banks backed the 1969 planting by distributing free enough seed to meet local needs. The crop was 598,162 pounds, and earned about $420,000." (Hawpe, "$6 Million Plant Boosting Spirit at Paintsville", Courier-Journal and Times, March 1, '70)

VIII.4. Many an Appalachian farmer is now concerned about the effect the "smoking and health issue" will have on his income. The 1969-70 market was erratic, prices were down, and the government-financed price-support "pool" bought a record 27 percent of the crop. The loss of the $1,000 or more each year from tobacco could mean the loss of "the only cash that many hillside farmers in eastern Kentucky and Tennessee see all year long." (Greider, "The Trouble with Tobacco", Ibid., February 15, '70)

VIII.5. The Appalachian Regional Commission reports in its journal Appalachia on"the Fight against Soil Erosion". Soil erosion is a particularly serious problem in Appalachia because of heavy average rainfall, mountainous terrain, the small size of farms and the unscientific farming methods, and the general low income which provides little or no capital for land improvement.

The Appalachian Regional Development Act provided for help in land stabilization and conservation. In addition, to help prevent erosion and to meet present and future water needs, water resource development is being studied under the direction of the Office of Appalachian Studies of the U. S. Army Corps of Engineers.

The Land stabilization program already sponsored by the U.S. Department of Agriculture through its Agricultural Conservation Program is assisted by the addition of regional funds in order to accelerate the rate of land treatment.

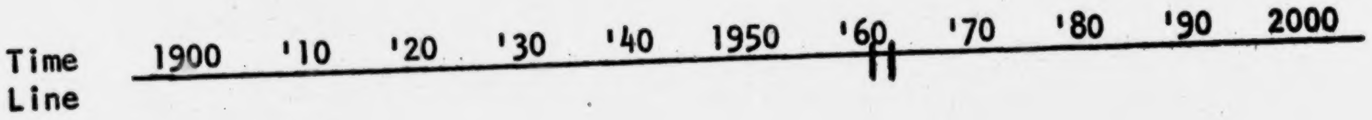
By February 28, 1969, 11,587 contracts had been signed obligating $11,482,795 for the treatment of 299,592 acres of land.

The average contract covered a four to five year period, involved 25.9 acres, and obligated about $1,000. (Walp, April '69)

VIII.6. The U. S. Department of Agriculture explains that the program usually includes practices to:

1. Conserve and dispose of water (ponds, dams, sod waterways, diversion ditches, terraces, strip-cropping, channel linding, shoreline protection, clearing a channel).
2. Establish permanent land cover (grass, trees, shrubs).
3. Improve protective cover already on the land.
4. Protect and attract wildlife.
5. Develop facilities for recreation (picnicking and camping sites, hunting and fishing and shooting facilities, and areas for water sports and winter sports).

(The Appalachian Land Stabilization and Conservation Program, March '69, p.3)



VIII.7. "Ministers, social workers, teachers, health officers, agricultural workers, elected officials, and other public servants have a definite responsibility for teaching the advantages and risks of migration. Without doubt, many farm people in congested areas would improve their well-being by moving to areas of greater productive opportunities. However, without educated leadership to see that such opportunities do exist and that the prospective migrants are suited for the migration, such movements carry great risks." (Proctor and White, "Agriculture: A Reassessment", The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey, '62, p. 101)

VIII.8. An action program which started in 1960, the Eastern Kentucky Resources Development Project, had as its purpose the improvement of the economic, institutional, and social conditions of the people of a 30-county area. A team of specialists worked with organizations, businesses, and leaders of the area on such matters as industrial location and development, community improvement and planning, career guidance and job placement, and various agricultural problems.

A particularly interesting factor in the program was this: people were to be assisted in working out varied economic and community problems "through the application of the techniques of agricultural extension". (Smith, "Action Programs for Mountain Counties", Mountain Life and Work, Summer '61, p. 15)

VIII.9. Over the long view of planned change in Appalachia, "a systematic retirement of submarginal land should be effected through public purchase of subsistence farms to which families in the area cling to their own detriment". (Vance, "The Region's Future: A National Challenge", The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey, '62, p. 298)

IX

MANUFACTURING

Manufacturing is already established in Appalachia to an extent that many observers from other parts of the United States will hardly believe. Employment in manufacturing accounts (in 1970) for a larger proportion of the total employment of Appalachia than of the nation as a whole. (See IX.1.).

Various types of manufacturing have been attracted to Appalachia by the abundance of raw materials. A glance at any encyclopedia will provide many examples. Early in the industrialization of the nation, the rolling mills of Pittsburg (eight were in operation there by 1829) were using coal from the surrounding mines to process the iron ore brought in on convenient waterways. At the beginning of the twentieth century Charleston, West Virginia, was establishing its chemical industry and glass factories. Chattanooga, Tennessee, now produces structural steel and farm implements from the iron ore and coal of the area. In Cumberland, Maryland, mills are rerolling steel rails and other railway supplies, and other factories are making tires and tubes, precision tool drills, and textiles. Ashland, Kentucky, manufactures steel. Parkersburg, West Virginia, manufactures steel, rayon, porcelain, glass, plastics, and paper products. The list could go on and on.

The major problem that Appalachia faced as it set about attracting more manufacturing--and helping what it already had to expand--was inadequate urbanization. At mid-century the chief expansion in nationally fast-growing industries was taking place in large and medium-sized urban areas. (See V.11.) These modern, growing industries were looking for locations that provided good schools, a doctor and a hospital, a nearby university. (See V.10.) Skilled workers became more important than cheap labor. Good highways and airports were essential. But most of the growing cities in 1950 lay just outside the boundaries of Appalachia. (See IX.5.)

The Appalachian Regional Commission adopted the strategy of helping to build medium-sized urban centers in carefully planned locations throughout the region. Most of the growth centers were planned around existing towns, but where no community was large enough to serve as a growth nucleus for a heavy rural population, new towns were created. (See IX.12.) The journal of the Commission, Appalachia, called attention in 1969 to the fact that not only have Appalachian counties with a total urban population of ten to fifty thousand outpaced the population and income growth of the region's metropolitan and rural counties, they have outpaced the growth of similar-sized counties in the rest of the nation. (See V.44.)

Although general Appalachian income and economic growth still trails the nation, the strategy of planned urbanization appears to be succeeding in improving the economic health of the "target areas". Improved and increased manufacturing activity plays an important role in this stronger economy.

Manufacturing

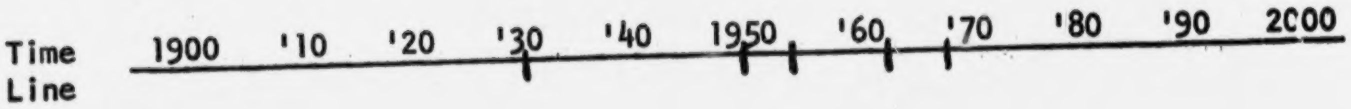
Time Line 1900 '10 '20 '30 '40 1950 '60 '70 '80 '90 2000

IX.1. "In Appalachia, the emphasis is on urban but not metropolitan growth--and also on making it easier for people to live in the country and work in the city....Appalachia already has a greater proportion of its employment in manufacturing than the U.S. as a whole....The big problem is a lack of urban centers large enough to provide a service base for industry already there." ("Progress in Appalachia: A Model for Federal Aid?" U.S. News and World Report, March 23, '70, p. 80)

IX.2. "...under modern economic conditions it is virtually impossible for rural areas to prosper except as they serve urban markets and employers.... You cannot separate an urban community from its rural hinterland without snuffing out much of its life." (Widner, "The Four Appalachias", Appalachian Review, Winter '68, p. 19)

IX.3. "...we discovered that we were talking about an 'underdeveloped area' instead of 'a depressed area'...eastern Kentucky was not depressed--it had never been at a position where it could be depressed....It had resources galore, but nothing had been done to develop them; instead, these resources had been exploited." (Doran, "The Appalachian Compact", '69)

IX.4. Lack of roads and lack of water control contributed to the low level of industrial development in the more mountainous areas of Appalachia. "We also found a great void in our operation because of the lack of trained manpower." (Ibid.)



IX.5. "Nearly all the growing cities lie just outside the borders of Appalachia: along the coast and the Piedmont to the east, booming Atlanta and the Gulf ports to the south, in the Mississippi Valley to the west." (Fischer, "Can Ralph Widner Save New York, Chicago, and Detroit?" Harper's, October '68, p. 24)

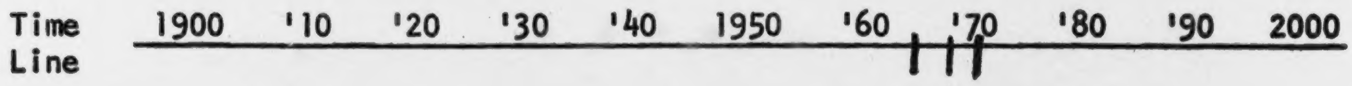
IX.6. Each of the seven southern Appalachian states and each of their regional parts showed a larger percentage of workers employed in agriculture than in manufacturing in 1930, but by 1950 the situation was quite different. "Georgia, North Carolina, Virginia, and West Virginia, and the regional parts of Georgia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia all had a higher percentage engaged in manufacture than in agriculture...." (Quittmeyer and Thompson, "The Development of Manufacturing", The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey, '62, p. 125)

IX.7. The Southern Appalachian Studies, completed in 1962, found that more southern Appalachian workers were gainfully employed in manufacturing than in agriculture, forestry, and mining combined. (Ibid., p. 86)

IX.8. The rank of manufacturing industries (1954) in the nation as a whole:
1. Transportation equipment
2. Food and kindred products
3. Machinery, except electrical
4. Apparel and related products
5. Stone, clay, and glass products

The rank of manufacturing industries (1954) in the southern Appalachian region:
1. Textile mill products
2. Lumber and wood products
3. Food
4. Apparel and related products
5. Stone, clay, and glass products

(Ibid., adapted from Table 30, p. 127)



IX.9. When the Appalachian Regional Commission was created in 1965, its orders were to make Appalachia prosper and put its people to work.

The Commission chose as its first objective the creation of the cities which Appalachia lacked. They would concentrate state and federal money in a few potential growth centers. Little dying towns would be encouraged to die faster; people would have to move. "The brutal truth--as Widner, once remarked--is that America now has only two choices: either (a) urbanization or (b) urbanization." (Fischer, "Can Ralph Widner Save New York, Chicago, and Detroit?" *Harper's*, October '68, p. 27)

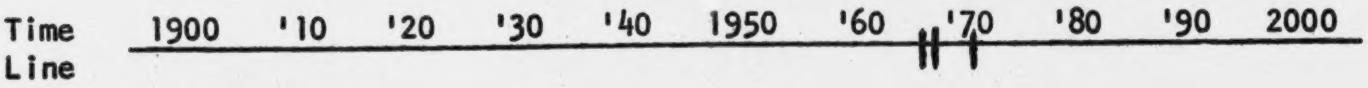
IX.10. "But we can still make a conscious decision about the *kind* of cities."

The Appalachian Regional Commission chose as models cities of medium size like Louisville, Atlanta, Minneapolis, Seattle and smaller satellites like Lexington, Macon, St. Cloud, and Olympia. (*Ibid.*)

IX.11. The plan for "making Appalachia prosper" was summarized by *U.S. News and World Report* as follows:

"Appalachia is divided into 60 local planning and development districts. They are made up of several counties each, with one or more existing or planned areas of potential growth in each district. There are 22 regional centers, which are larger communities that serve several districts; 78 primary centers, where significant expansion is expected and major investments are intended, and 88 secondary centers, where only enough educational and health facilities will be provided to take care of nearby rural areas.

"Each district works out its own plan for economic development. Usually, local officials seek to accelerate trends already under way. For example, when several sections of the interstate highway system passed close by the Scranton-Wilkes-Barre area of Pennsylvania, a new function developed for these communities as a distribution center for the region around New York City, 100 miles away. ARC then was called on to help build industrial parks and other facilities needed to expand this role. ("Progress in Appalachia: A Model for Federal Aid?" March 23, '70, p. 80)



IX.12. Most of the growth centers in Appalachia are planned around existing towns or clusters of towns. In eastern Kentucky, for example, an urban service area is evolving around three small towns--Pikeville, Prestonsburg, and Paintsville--to serve a surrounding population of 300,000 persons.

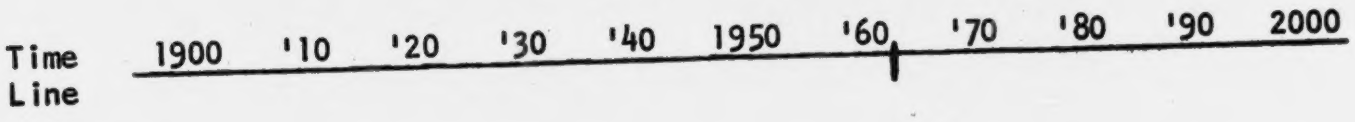
In some districts, however, there is no community large enough for a growth nucleus, though there still is a relatively thick rural population. Here new towns are being created. Examples of these new communities are Midland, Kentucky, on Interstate 64 near Morehead; Lucasville, Ohio, a new town near Portsmouth; and Fairdale, a new town site near Beckley, West Virginia. (Ibid.)

IX.13. The Appalachian Regional Commission reported at the end of one year that construction on the Appalachian Development Highway System was "well under way" and that a variety of public facility projects had been initiated.

The public facility projects ranged from modern vocational education centers and hospitals to airports and pollution control facilities. They were planned to give permanent strength to the economic base of Appalachia. (Annual Report 1966, '67, p. 1)

IX.14. The Appalachian Regional Commission gave the responsibility for a Water Resources Survey to the Secretary of the Army with a directive "to coordinate with all other Federal and State agencies having responsibilities in the water resources field".

Since Appalachia is the main watershed for most of eastern United States, this water resource development is of importance to the most densly populated and industrialized part of the country. (Ibid., p. 27)



IX.15. A serious problem of mountainous communities is flood damage. The other side of this coin is the loss of much-needed water. Water-control, therefore, is of great importance to the region. (See also XV.12.)

Caudill has for several years urged the formation of a Southern Mountain Authority modeled on the Tennessee Valley Authority. His S.M.A. would construct strategically located dams which would convert certain less useful valleys into scenic lakes. "Such highland lakes," he writes, " would be valuable for a number of important reasons. They could be utilized to capture and hold portions of the water which so often lashes the region in savage flash floods....Reliable and ample water supplies would make it possible for some types of manufacturing industry to operate in the Cumberlands--operations impossible under the prevailing conditions of heavy precipitation and rapid run-off." (Night Comes to the Cumberlands, '62, p. 385-386)

IX.16. "The new concept of stream resources that is needed for industrial development in the mountainous areas is sustained flow. Usually the actual concept has been a combination of flood control and recreation...." (Quittmeyer and Thompson, "The development of Manufacturing", The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey, '62, p. 133)

IX.17. The business of seeking industrial plants has become a small-city preoccupation in many parts of the United States as well as in Appalachia. Other organizations of seekers operate at state and national levels. In the face of all this activity, it is well to remember that "profit maximization is the realistic underpinning of decisions on location".

Manufacturing executives tend to buy a location rather than to have it sold to them. Leading factors favorable to plant location are labor, raw materials, utilities, and markets. Site factors tend to be considered near the middle of the favorability scale, and community attitudes are spread rather evenly along the entire scale. (Ibid., pp. 130-1)

Time Line 1900 '10 '20 '30 '40 1950 '60 '70 '80 '90 2000

IX. 18. What is happening in actual communities? in 1965, Johnson County, Tennessee, ranked twelfth from the bottom of 257 counties in the Appalachian South.

A stoneware company decided to come to Johnson County on condition the Council of the Southern Mountains (through its job-training program with the Office of Manpower, Automation and Training of the U. S. Department of Labor) could help train people to produce high quality ceramic tableware--using a process that was totally unfamiliar to other American pottery manufacturers.

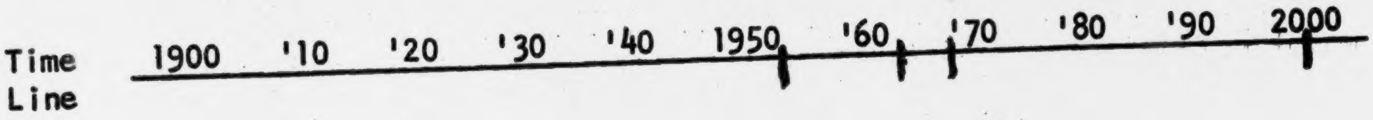
The Council could--on condition the company would consider hiring a certain number of older persons, the "hard-core unemployed" persons over thirty who usually had neither high school education or skills usable in modern industry.

An agreement was reached, and 425 people applied for 45 places in the training program. 43 received Labor Department training certificates. Their average age was 36.5 years.

A year later the manager of the plant gave an unqualified approval of the job-training program, the workers, and the location. (Davis, "The Iron Mountain Way", Mountain Life and Work, Fall, '65, pp. 32-35)

IX.19. In Paintsville, Kentucky, a new American Standard plant is making ultra-modern bathroom appliances and providing employment for more than 450 persons in the Johnson-Floyd County area. "Expansion potential could raise that to employment of 1,000....Everyone here is very excited about the future."

Why did the new plant come to Paintsville? The town had been growing over a period of several years, combining major industrial development and social-community development. An excellent cooperative spirit marked the planning of these years. Federal help opportunities were used to fill gaps that the town could not fill alone. A road and utilities connection made the 30-acre site (the town had been holding ten years) ready for a substantial industry. (Hawpe, "$6 Million Plant Boosting Spirit at Paintsville", Courier-Journal and Times, March 1, '70)



IX.20. Fischer reported in 1968 a second visit to the Scranton-Wilkes-Barr area in Pennsylvania. The earlier visit had been in 1952 when the outlook was dismal. But he had heard that the slide had stopped.

Five years before--in 1963--community leaders came together with the notion that they could bring in new industries to take the place of coal. The region had a few assets: location midway between the Atlantic Seaboard and the Middlewest; a third of the nation's population within 250 miles; cheap land and plenty of water.

A few long-sighted business men raised some local money, began a brutally candid examination of the district's shortcomings--such as poor schools--and listed the things that would need to be done to cure the ills, indicated who should do them, and set up a schedule of priorities.

This "Development Program", a document the size of a Manhattan telephone directory, was drafted in consultation with 200 people--not in somebody's office. And it was shaped to fit into the larger plans of the Appalachian region. It is updated from year to year. By 1968 some 485 new plants had moved into the area, bringing the unemployment rate down below 4%. According to the master plan, the area is expected to grow by as much as a third before the end of the century. ("The Lazarus Twins in Pennsylvania", Harper's, November '68, pp. 13-14)

X

TOURISM

Two areas of legitimate self interest are coming together in Appalachian tourism with generally happy consequences for all. The residents of crowded metropolitan areas to the east and to the west want and need nature's reassuring scenery, the mountains' exhilrating trails, the change of driving patterns, the stability of handcrafted treasures, and the educational experience of learning to know a new region with its slightly different way of life. The people of the mountains want and need the economic benefits of tourism. The stimulation of new service industries in McCreary County, Kentucky, for example, around the Devils Jump area (See X.4.), can be the factor that changes underemployed and unemployed people living on welfare into employed people enjoying a standard of living comparable to that enjoyed elsewhere in an affluent society. And the educational experience of learning to know people"from outside" can broaden the lives of people who have been handicapped by isolation.

The process (of the needs of people from one region complementing the needs of people in another region) builds upon itself. As service industries meet more nearly the requirements of tourists, the business of tourism will grow. And as it grows, service industries will multiply further. This building of an industry is already well along. The question to be raised now is one of level--of quality--of whether the industry is growing in a direction that promises the optimum in mutual satisfactions. This question, of course, is to be raised about all tourist industries, in any region, at any time. And it includes a warning that mere copying of the pattern observed in other regions of the United States does not insure an optimum in mutual satisfactions for the Appalachian tourist industry.

Education is needed. Call it vocational education or adult education or some of both -- educational guidance is needed in order to assist the business of Appalachian tourism to grow toward goals that are mutually desirable to the people of Appalachian and to the people of the metropolitan centers outside the region. Such education will be concerned with: (1) improving community attitudes toward tourists; (2) broadening general community concepts of what tourists have learned to want in food and lodging; (3) developing understanding and appreciation of the various cultural "tastes" of visitors--and developing understanding and appreciation of the best qualities of Appalachian culture in order that Appalachian can continue to have a life-style worthy of the interest and respect of visitors to the region; (4) training groups of people in semi-skilled tasks necessary to a successful tourist industry.

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X.1. Some parts of the Appalachian mountains are close enough to our eastern cities for animals living in the forests to take "an occasional walk into town...yet it is remarkable how few people from the cities on either side of the Appalachians realize the enormous recreation and travel opportunities right under their noses. (Widner, "Introduction" to Connelly, Discovering the Appalachians, '68)

X.2. Some part of the Appalachian region is within a day's drive of over half the people of the nation. (Morris, "The Potential of Tourism", The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey, '62, p. 144)

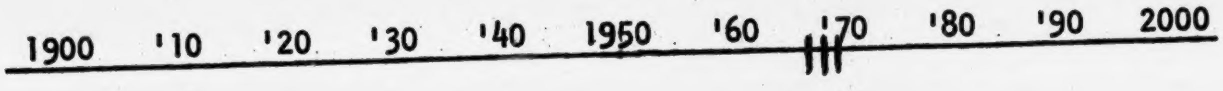
X.3. "Much of the mountain area that is lacking in other resources possesses a rare natural beauty that is likely to become an even more precious commodity as metropolitan sprawl threatens to engulf the nation. (Ibid., p. 86)

X.4. For several years a debate has been waged by state and special interests with the federal government over the question of developing the Devils Jump area in McCreary County, Kentucky. In February of 1970 a federal team,representing three federal agencies and the states of Kentucky and Tennessee, reported on its study of the matter and presented six alternatives that could enhance the economic status of the basin.

The report has special interest for tourism because five of the alternatives emphasized the intangible value of the natural features of the basin. The report obviously reflects the increasing public concern over despoilation and diminution of scenic and recreational assets.

The alternatives are: (1) Acceleration of existing federal, state and local programs for soil conservation, fish, wildlife, forestry, agriculture, natural resources, and watershed. (2) Reservoirs, with a power dam. (3) National scenic river. (4) National recreation area. (5) National forest. (6) National park. (Sinclair, "U. S. Offers Six Alternatives for Devils Jump Area", Courier-Journal and Times, February 22, '70)

Time Line



X.5. After the establishment of the Appalachian Regional Commission, its Executive Director said: The Appalachian Highlands form a national scenic resource, a playground and refuge for the metropolitan millions on either side now and in the future. It is an unexcelled amenity resource.

The states of the Appalachian Highlands and the federal conservation agencies, including the U. S. Forest Service, the National Park Service, the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, the Army Corps of Engineers, and the Tennessee Valley Authority, have teamed up to do a more effective job of recreational development in the area. (Widner, "The Four Appalachias", Appalachian Review, Winter '68, p. 15)

X.6. An example of the unusual recreational assets available in the region is described in the book, The Appalachian Trail. A delightfully readable book, it is primarily about walking. In addition, it tells the reader about the Trail. In elevation, the Appalachian Trail varies from tidewater to 6,642 feet. It crosses portions of fourteen states, and nowhere is it more than one day's drive from 120 million people.

Day-time hikers, week-enders, and newcomers to walking should welcome such an opportunity to enjoy unpolluted nature. (Sutton and Sutton, '67, p. 13)

X.7. "There are many rewarding places to visit in East Kentucky, although the area has never managed to build itself into the major tourist attraction it could become. New highways are making the mountains more and more accessible....East Kentuckians are not unaware of the beckoning benefits of tourism. They know that last year some 30 million visitors to the state spent $345 million." (Fetterman, "The Lure of East Kentucky", Courier-Journal and Times, May 4, '69, p. 85)

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X.8. The parks commissioner of Kentucky has urged private businessmen to begin assuming larger roles in meeting the demands of tourists who are discovering the mountains--and liking them.

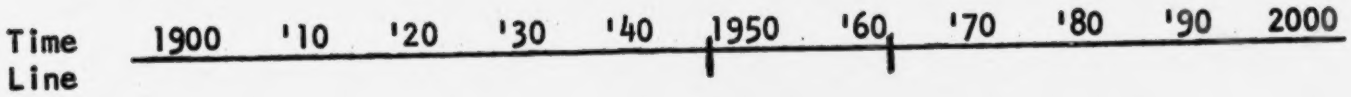
Gatlinburg, Tennessee is looked upon as a model of what can be done. This mountain city of 2,300 people has prospered beyond the imagination of all its early planners. (Ibid., p. 87)

X.9. "In general about thirty-five cents from each tourist dollar is spent for food, about thirty-two cents for lodging, and fifteen cents for transportation." Since a filling station or restaurant located in a tourist area can hardly avoid being at least partially dependent upon tourist trade, the owner of such a business--and certainly of a motel--will have to make a substantial investment if he is to secure a reasonable share of the tourist dollar. (Morris, "The Potential of Tourism", The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey, '62, p. 143)

X.10. The seasonal variations in weather and the extreme ruggedness of the topography of some of the most scenic areas are the chief physical handicaps to an industry based on tourism.

Inadequate roads have presented a serious handicap in many areas, but more and more highways and access roads are being built in the highlands.

The unwillingness of some residents of inaccessible areas to welcome outsiders has, now and then, handicapped the development of tourism, but this problem grows less common as outsiders become more numerous. A more prevalent cultural gap appears in accomodations that are different from those which tourists have learned in their other travelling to expect and to want. (Ibid., pp. 144-5)



X.11. Most legitimate merchants and the state agencies which have responsibility for the development of tourism would like to see some method of control developed which would check "tourist traps". (Ibid., p. 147)

X.12. In order to realize the possibilities in the business of tourism, Appalachia will have to complete about four developmental phases.

(1) Planning will have to be done by competent planners who should be employed either by an area agency or by appropriate state agencies.

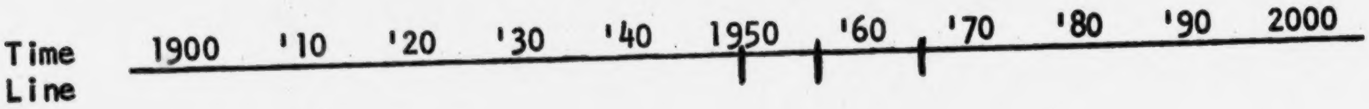
(2) Financing will have to be arranged.

(3) Actual operations will have to be established.

(4) A program of public education should be carried out by some local organization such as an association of commerce, a community development organization, or a service club. "Attractive facilities cannot overcome the impression created by a drab and dirty community setting nor can good service provided by a park, tourist home, or restaurant totally offset the effects of discourteous, hostile, or avaricious local citizens.... The community support of tourist industry is too important to leave to chance and must be cultivated as an integral part of the development process." (Ibid., p. 148)

X.13. The strong craft interest already established in Appalachia is a sturdy asset to the Appalachian tourist industry. For example, a Craftsmen's Fair has been held each year since 1948 either in Gatlinburg or in Ashville. A Summer School of Crafts is held at Cherokee, woodcarving is taught at Brasstown, several schools offer summer courses in weaving with the short-term visitor particularly in mind. And this list is only a short sample of the rich fare that is available to the craft-minded tourist.

The craft items that are sold in the various gift shops of the area account for a thriving business, and the best of these spread the area's reputation for fine work. It is little wonder that craftsmen take seriously the damage done to this reputation by cheap imitations. (Stevens, "The Revival of Handicrafts", Ibid., pp. 282-3)



X.14. Iron Mountain Stoneware, Inc., came to Johnson County, Tennessee, in 1965, partially because the craft shops at resort and recreational centers in Appalachia provided a good market for their stoneware.

The management also believed from the beginning that the project would attract visitors and buyers to the plant--and they have not been disappointed. In spite of the relatively remote location, the landscaped plant, with a retail store and parking lot, has had an encouraging flow of visitors, and it sold them approximately one month's production during the first year of operation. (Mock, "The Iron Mountain Way, Part II", Mountain Life and Work, Winter '65, p. 18)

X.15. In the early fifties, the Tennessee Valley Authority did research on an extension program in tourist and resort services. "Such a program would do for the operator of the fishing camp, the motel, and other small recreation businesses what the county agent does for the farmer."

The topics which could be studied include employee selection and training, accounting, purchasing, interior decorating, grounds maintenance, promotion, guest activities, menu planning, and hundreds of other details which spell the difference between success and failure for the operator.

TVA gathered information on the organization, conduct, and cost of such a program, and then worked with a land-grant college and with recreation trade associations in the Valley to get the project under way. (Howes, "Recreation", Martin, ed., TVA, The First Twenty Years, '56, p. 217)

X.16. TVA was also studying a family vacation facility for the Tennessee Valley which would be similar to the holiday camps popular in England and the Scandinavian countries. This could be a complete resort village with accommodations for 2,500 to 3,000 people and would offer a wide variety of things to do for everyone in the family: the best of entertainment, a crafts program, conducted play, even baby sitters. (Ibid., pp. 217-18)

XI

FOLK ARTS

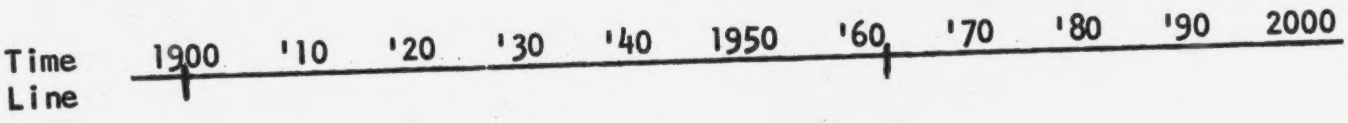
When the culture of Appalachia is expressed in its folk arts, great numbers of people from all parts of the country understand it and like it. At the same time, however, an industrial executive, hoping to locate a factory in Appalachia, questions the ability of certain mountain communities to provide a congenial climate for the "good living" he knows his management people expect and demand. And tourism, as an industry, fails to succeed in many spectacularly scenic areas because the American public will not buy the accommodations, auxillary attractions, and general "cultural climate" which the local community offers. Why is there this difference?

The plaintive ballad, "I Wonder as I Wander out under the Sky", is loved by the entire country. Square dancing is popular everywhere. Old hand-woven coverlets from mountain cabins hang today in the museums of Detroit and Chicago. Brasstown wood carvings sit in gracious homes all over the nation. And Jesse Stuart's The Thread that Runs So True has become an American classic.

Why do people of other parts of the United States understand and love these products of Appalachia while at the same time they have difficulty understanding and liking some of the more isolated communities of Appalachia? Is it, perhaps, because all people express and communicate a deeper self in their art forms? Is it, perhaps, that people can recognize likenesses to themselves when they look at, or listen to, artistic expressions? Can people, then, reach back and forth across culture barriers by means of their songs and dances, their weavings and wood carvings, their stories and poems, and their grass-roots paintings? Certain individuals have learned to understand their cultures throught a study of their art forms. Can large groups of people be helped, through educational channels, to use folk arts as a cultural bridge to better understanding between regions? Many leaders in twentieth-century Appalachia believe the answer is an affirmative one.

The bridge must, however, provide two-way insight. Appalachia needs to be helped to understand the outside world and the outside world needs to be helped to understand Appalachia. The folk arts of the East, the South, the Middle West, and the West may not be as distinctive--as clearly defined in traditional forms--as those of Appalachia, but they are appearing in a swelling surge of grass-roots production in the equivalents of Pikeville, Kentucky, that are located all over the United States. The craftsman of the United States, regardless of his regional home, is likely to be a mature individual of above average education with strong creative interests. (See XI.11.) He tends to express the emotions, beliefs, and the life-style of the people among whom he lives. (See XI.12, 13.)

This section on folk arts in Appalachia contains excerpts which sketch a picture of the remarkable revival that has occurred in the twentieth century. Two writers (Smith and Stevens) recommend that the schools become more alert to the possibilities of using folk arts to teach better understanding of Appalachia's culture to the descendents of that culture. This should be a particularly rich educational resource for adult basic education. And where better than in adult basic education can the people of Appalachia become aware of what the folk arts of other regions are saying about the people of all the United States?

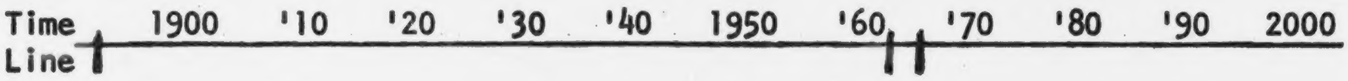


XI.1. "The tendency of traditionalistic societies to resist change is perhaps more than matched by the tendency of modern societies to deprecate traditional beliefs and practices as unprogressive and obsolete."

Ford thus calls attention to a basic difference that frequently chills efforts at communication between people of mountainous Appalachia and people of "the outside". He adds "Yet, even if we use the progressive's criterion of functionalism, there is much to be found of value in the culture of yesteryear. Certainly this has proved to be the case in the preservation of the folk arts and crafts of the Southern Appalachian people." (The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey, '62, p. 257)

XI.2. The more isolated residents of the Appalachian mountains, inarticulate themselves, have been described from the outside with emphasis upon their surface peculiarities rather than upon their deeper traits of character. "And having once entered the realm of legend, they continued to be known by the half-dozen distinguishing features which in legend are always enough for any type." (Weatherford and Dykeman, "Literature since 1900", Ibid., p. 264)

XI.3. The Appalachians have, however, had several unusually able spokesmen in the novelists and poets who were children there. One of the most sensitive of these was Thomas Wolfe. Of him, J. B. Priestly said in his Literature and the Western Man, "...satisfying and rewarding...he remains one of the few major young writers of this age, a giant of the morning; and everything about him, faulty and overyouthful, candid and vital and endearing, belongs essentially to an America that is itself still a giant of the morning". (Ibid., p. 270)

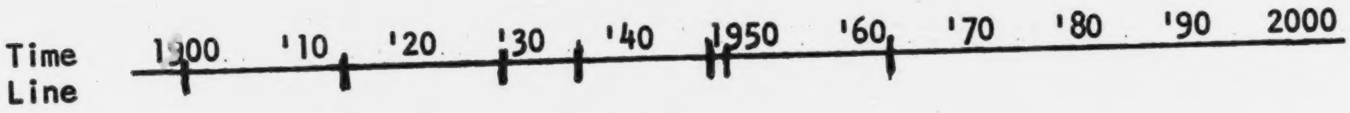


XI.4. In a frontier society life is sustained by the work of one's hands. Personal dignity is based upon independent achievement. A man takes pride in what he has made of the materials in his environment--in their utilitarian beauty.

"In a more sophisticated society, a man's fundamental need to create with his hands persists, even when the practical necessity for such creation is gone." Today, therefore, people in all parts of the United States turn to crafts to satisfy their hunger for personal achievement. (Stevens, "The Revival of Handicrafts", Ibid., p. 279)

XI.5. Crafts such as basket weaving, wrought iron, and pottery met local needs. As the more skilled and sophisticated artists in the craft field came into the mountains, they added and will continue to add breadth to the region's handicrafts. (Brooks, The Appalachians, '65, pp. 323-7)

XI.6. The craft revival began earlier in Southern Appalachia than in other parts of the United States because a foundation of old crafts was still alive there. The region almost lost them in the period immediately following the Civil War. Even in the remote coves, in spite of the scarcity of money and the poor transportation and communication, looms fell into disuse while the mountain people bought the products of the new textile mills. Outsiders were largely responsible for stimulating renewed interest in the old crafts. "The first effort to revive the handicrafts of the highlands of which there is any clear account was in the fall of 1893 when Dr. Frost (then President of Berea College) began his long 'extension' tours in the mountains and at once noted the attractive homespun bedcoverings in many cabins." His interest led to the building of the Berea Fireside Industries where students are taught to weave coverlets and other products for sale to the public as a means of paying part of the cost of their own education. (Stevens, "The Revival of Handicrafts", The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey, '62, pp. 280-1)



XI.7. A ready market was found, particularly for the products of hand-weaving, and several projects developed in North Carolina around the turn of the century: the Allenstand Cottage Industries in Asheville, a weaving center at Saluda, the Penland School of Handicrafts, and the Spinning Wheel in Asheville.

Interest grew. A Berea coverlet won a medal at the Paris Exposition in 1900. In 1913 Mrs. Woodrow Wilson planned the Mountain Room of the White House and personally chose the mountain-woven rugs, coverlets, and upholstery materials that were used to furnish it.

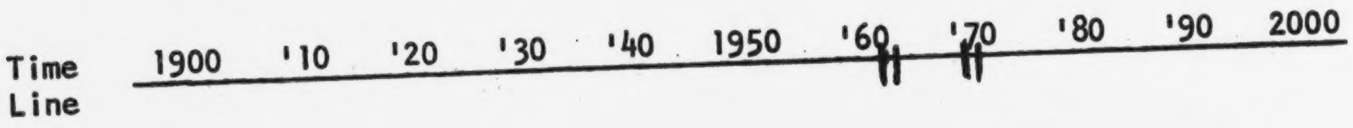
In the meantime the Conference of Southern Mountain Workers had been organized. At the annual meetings of this Conference craft-interested people came together and discussed their problems. Allen Eaton of the Russell Sage Foundation in New York added his interested support. The handicraft shop that had been established in Gatlinburg, Tennessee, by the Pi Beta Phi Sorority became a strong member of the group of centers.

The leaders in the handicraft revival met in 1929 at the Spinning Wheel in Asheville and organized the Southern Highland Handicraft Guild. The Guild was to have a potent influence on Appalachia. (Ibid.,p. 281)

XI.8. Six years later (in 1935) a similar organization, the Southern Highlanders, was formed under the sponsorship of the Tennessee Valley Authority. The chief emphasis of the Highlanders was marketing. The actual work was much like that of the Southern Highland Handicraft Guild, however, and in 1949 the two organizations merged, retaining the name of the Guild. (Ibid., p. 282)

XI.9. The Southern Highland Handicraft Guild has assisted craft centers by pooling knowledge and resources, and providing help in designing, producing, and marketing craft work.

In 1948 the Guild held the first Craftsmen's Fair in Gatlinburg. Here craftsmen from eight states exhibited and sold their work. "At least one Fair has been held every year since then, either in Gatlinburg or in Asheville, and the Fairs have done much to establish the reputation and integrity of mountain crafts." (Ibid.)



XI.10. At the close of the Autumn Fair of 1961, the Gatlinburg Press estimated that the Fair had brought $250,000 to the motel and hotel owners and other businesses of the town. And one merchant added, "It gave us a million dollars' worth of publicity all over the country".

But crafts still are not a road to riches either for the individual craftsman or for the Guild. Craft work is painstaking and slow. Many craftsmen estimate that their actual hourly wage is very low.

And crafts are not a quick answer to all financial needs of depressed mountain areas. Only craft work of high quality can contribute to the cultural or financial well-being of Appalachia--and a craft is not learned in six easy lessons. Education, whether of the old father-to-son variety or the contemporary college or workshop kind, is essential. (Ibid., pp. 286-9)

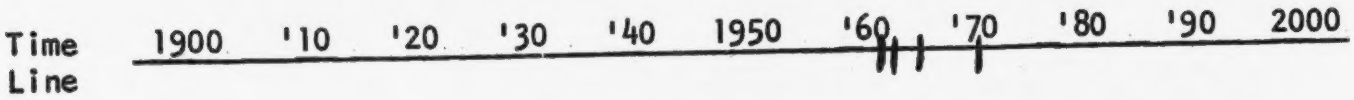
XI.11. 348 replies to a questionnaire revealed that the mountain craftsman of Appalachia is most likely to be in the 46 to 55 age bracket. If he is among the 15 percent who reported ages of over 65, he does not consider himself "retired".

Over half of the craftsmen had lived in the area all their lives, yet 21 percent were college graduates, and many of these had credit past their degrees. Another 20 percent reported having had some college work, and only 17 percent had less than a high school education.

There were almost three times as many women working in crafts as men, and almost half of the women were housewives. 14 percent of the total number were teachers. The others were scattered widely among various occupations. (Ibid., p. 285)

XI.12. "Is there just one American way of Life?" (Gazaway, The Longest Mile, '69, p. 209)

"Diversity of life-styles will mark tomorrow." (Cantlon, "Some New Challenges for the Educator", May '70)



XI.13. The danger to the mountain craftsman is not that he will change, but that he may lose his individuality. He should seek to understand his cultural heritage and to do all he can to develop its possibilities. (Stevens, "The Revival of Handicrafts", The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey, '62, p. 287)

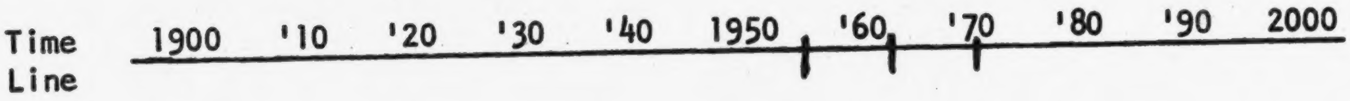
XI.14. A new industry referred to in both "Manufacturing" and "Tourism" (IX.18. and X.14.) offers an excellent example of the way in which the growing reputation of Appalachia for fine craftsmanship can bring new industry to the region.

Iron Mountain Stoneware, Inc., is manufacturing a product that is the unique result of many years of study, training and work based on the concept "that a true stoneware dinnerware, integrating studio technique and hand craft, can be made available at prices competitive with earthenware and pottery". (Mock, "The Iron Mountain Way, Part II", Mountain Life and Work, Winter '65, p. 18)

XI.15. In 1961, Kentucky set up a Division of Arts and Crafts in what is now the state Department of Public Information. A year later the Kentucky Guild of Artists and Craftsmen was formed, and a "chain reaction" was started which is still gathering momentum.

One might visit nine active centers of handicraft in eastern Kentucky: Berea College's student Industries; the Churchill Weavers in Berea;Bybee Pottery near Waco; the Grass Roots Craftsmen at Jackson, Breathitt County; the Quicksand Crafts at Pikeville; the Paint Creek Weavers, also in Pike County; the Hound Dog Hookers in Letcher County; the Laurel Fork Crafts at Henderson Settlement School at Frakes; and the Pine Knot Co-Op in McCreary County.

And this list does not mention the "loners" such as William McClure who carves doughbowls and Chester Cornett who makes chairs. (Lansdell, "The Lost Arts Can Be Found", Courier-Journal and Times, May 3, '70)



XI.16. The Kentucky Folk Festival, sponsored by the University of Kentucky, includes in its program folk songs, tales,and handicrafts. The festival is, in general, non-competitive. It is large and well-organized and attracts groups not only from all sections of Kentucky, but many from Ohio and Indiana.

Two other festivals of a semi-commercial nature, which for many years have attracted wide interest, are held in Asheville, North Carolina: The Mountain Dance and Folk Festival and the Youth Jamboree. Both feature Appalachian square dancing and folk singing.

Berea College is the home of the Mountain Folk Festival and the Christmas Country Dance School. A student organization, the Country Dancers, has represented the College in many parts of the United States. In 1955, Berea College introduced an outdoor drama which ran for four seasons, and featured regional history, folk tunes, and mountain dancing. (Smith, "Dances and Singing Games", The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey, '62, pp. 275-7)

XI.17. The basic need for the future of folk dances is more adequate leadership. Traditional dance instruction and its social and recreational use in the schools rests chiefly with the physical education director, aided and encouraged according to the interests of the principal. "A new approach is needed which will take into consideration social and artistic as well as purely athletic ideals." (Ibid., p. 278)

XI.18. A new industry related to regional interests in music has appeared in Appalachian Alabama. "Muscle Shoals...is rapidly emerging as a junior partner in the Southern recording complex that is headed by nearby Memphis and Nashville. In only four years Muscle Shoals' recording studios and its handful of resident musicians have helped produce a series of million-sellers for a variety of vocalists. The town probably turns out more hit records per capita than any other city in the world." (Hilburn, "Muscle Shoals Muscles into Record Field", Courier-Journal and Times, March 15, '70)

XII

GOVERNMENT

When a region goes in one generation from creek-bed roads to hard-surfaced highways, from tiny farms on high mountain ridges to industrial smokestacks in new cities, from cultural isolation to television antennas on mountain tops, an observer is indeed startled to hear a person who lives among these dramatic changes say, "The mountaineers will never change."

If, however, the observer turns away from the material changes and looks at the functioning of local government, particularly the vested interests enshrined in overly numerous mountain counties, he begins to understand the pessimism of the local resident. The word "never" is wrong. The mountaineers are changing, but change comes unevenly. (See XII.1.)

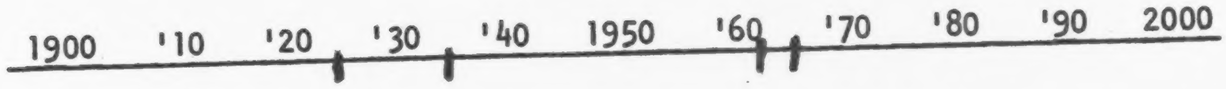
The part of almost any change picture which lags most heavily is the value pattern. And the value pattern of the isolated rural mountain society of Appalachia tends, even yet, to support the existing local government. (See XII.4.) For a detailed description of governmental problems and needs in the southern Appalachian region, see Chapter 2, 10, and 11 of Ford, ed., The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey.) More responsible local leadership is needed. During the fifties and early sixties regional leaders came to the conclusion that before Appalachia could expect to have better local leadership in government, it would have to have better business leadership, closer cooperation between business and government, and better economic conditions generally. (See XII.8.)

The program of the Appalachian Regional Commission seems to be having a beneficial influence upon government in Appalachia, particularly upon the planning function of local and state governments. Through the sixty multicounty planning and development districts, local action seems to be making definite progress toward an improved economy. The thirteen state governments, represented on the Commission through their governors (See I.24.), are drawing favorable comment from observers of their planning and legislation for economic improvement in their Appalachian areas. For example, South Carolina passed a law in 1967 liberalizing municipal annexation of adjacent territory, and Pennsylvania's new constitutional article on local government authorizes the general Assembly to provide for area-wide governments. (Spence, "The Local Government's Role in Regional Development," Appalachia, May '69, p. 11)

There is still, however, a great need for better understanding by the people of the responsibilities that are necessarily theirs in a democratic form of government. Adult education is in a peculiarly opportune position to help to meet this need. Adults who seek opportunities to learn are usually more open to a challenging thought than our society has given them credit for being. Basic beliefs and value patterns are seldom changed by didactic frontal attacks, but they are shaped by inner thought processes (augmented by emotional reactions) in a flexible mind when it is faced with convincing evidence.

And the most convincing evidence may appear as a by-product of concentration on a study quite separate from government. Reading, talking, thinking--stimulated by a teacher and classmates. How different that program of growth is from mere repetitious associations within a peer group!

Time Line



XII.1. "...sociologists and anthropologists have long recognized that all parts of culture do not change at an equal rate. As a general rule, at least in our time, the technological aspects are the first to change, followed more slowly by adaptations of social organization to new techniques. Most resistant to change are the fundamental sentiments, beliefs, and values of a people, the ways they feel their world is and should be ordered." (Ford, "The Passing of Provincialism", The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey, '62, p. 9)

XII.2. In the late twenties and early thirties, county government in the southern Appalachian region was tradition bound, wasteful, and irresponsible. Officeholders allowed themselves first to condone and then to use the questionable practices which had become customary.

The counties of Appalachia were established when travel was slow and communication was difficult. Such small service areas are no longer economically feasible. Even at realistic assessments, the taxable property in most of these counties will no longer support even minimum services. "For years the richer counties of these states have been required through one device or another to help carry the burdens of the poorer ones. The small rural counties are so over-represented in all the state legislatures that they have been able to shift much of the cost of schools, roads, and public welfare to the larger, richer, and particularly the more urbanized, counties.... [but] no county can be expected to take the initiative in instituting its own demise; the action must come from the state." (Wager, "Local Government", Ibid., pp. 151-167)

XII.3. The reference-group satisfies the need of the mountain man for action, fellowship, and purpose. The community, therefore, is actually unnecessary to him except on a very impersonal level. He uses what he needs from the community and ignores the rest. (Weller, Yesterday's People, '65, p. 87)

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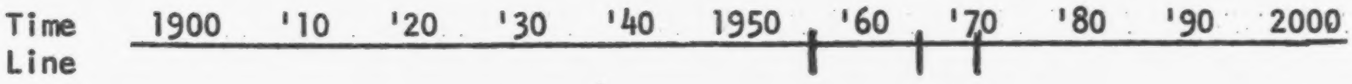
XII.4. Experts in government, business, and community planning insist that solutions to problems must come from the local scene, but "such planning is the very thing which mountain people find it next to impossible to do." To think and plan on paper, to accept the responsibility for value judgments, to anticipate and prevent crises--such behavior is outside the experience of most of the mountain people. Those with this ability have used it to take themselves out of the mountains. (Ibid., pp. 97-8)

XII.5. In the smaller county-seat towns, the courthouse group wields great influence. Government is frequently the biggest business in the entire county, and the courthouse group is left unchallenged in its control. (Ibid., pp. 92, 101)

XII.6. The Southern Appalachian Studies found in their probe of values, beliefs, and attitudes several indications of increasing appreciation of social organization.

A surprising "42 percent of the surveyed households reported that the male wage earner was currently, or had previously been, a union member." Parent-teacher organizations and 4-H clubs were given high approval.

Most of the respondents, however, were not in favor of programs that would require support by local taxes. Apparently the average highlander does not see the government as an extension of himself. The government is "they", not "we". Of course, the mountaineer shares this attitude with many citizens of other regions. (Ford, "The Passing of Provincialism", The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey, '62, p. 14)



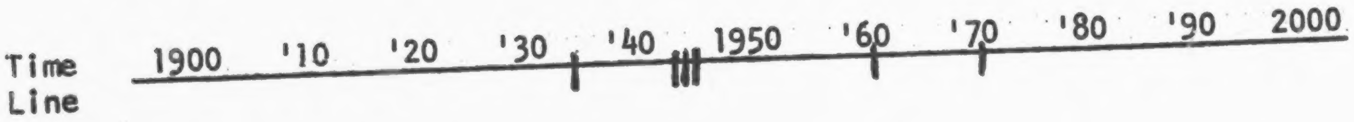
XII.7. Even though Appalachian leaders are increasingly recognizing the fact that the fundamental economic problems of the region are not likely to be solved by local community action alone, they do take cognizance of the evidence that numerous towns and cities within the region have outstanding records of civic enterprise. It is also true that many counties have organized effective rural development programs coordinating the services of state and federal agencies and local citizen groups.

"The question, therefore, is not whether the people of the region are capable of initiating and organizing local action programs, but whether they are yet willing to accept and sustain the fundamental premise that furtherance of the commonweal in a democratic society requires a common effort...." (Ibid., pp. 31-2)

XII.8. The diagnosis resulting from the Southern Appalachian Studies and other regional inquiries made during the late fifties and the early sixties was that the economic integration of Appalachia into the nation was not so dependent upon its cultural integration as that the cultural integration was dependent upon economic development. (Ibid., p. 34)

XII.9. When, in 1965, the Appalachian Regional Commission (See I.23,24.) drafted the strategy for achieving the economic development of Appalachia, a bold one was adopted. Planned urbanization was to become the basis for a more vigorous industrialization and for an increase in the quantity and quality of service industries.

Improvements in local government would follow. Poor communities would gain some of the resources of a larger, more prosperous city by the use of multicounty districts working with state experts. ("Progress in Appalachia: A Model for Federal Aid?" U.S. News and World Report, March 23, '70, p. 80)



XII.10. At the time of that earlier surge of regional effort in the late thirties and the early forties, the emphasis was on the wise use of resources. Much of the philosophy foretold that of the sixties. For example:

"...in a free society the opportunity to make choices between alternative uses of resources should be pushed downward as far as possible so as to involve the maximum number of people both lay and professional. A primary challenge to American democracy is how to assure the wisest possible development of resources in a society so complex in its organization." (Blackwell, "Resources and Community Organization", The High School Journal, May '46, p. 122)

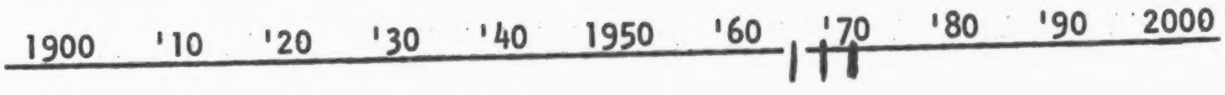
XII.11. Speaking before a second "Gatlinburg Conference" of the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education (appointed by the American Council on Education), Paul Sears said:

"Many of the problems which, in one form or another, are of serious character over most of the United States have grown out of man's effect upon his natural environment.

If a community is wasting its water, we can find the manufacturer who is kept from expanding his plant because of water shortage and drive him out in the country during a rain where he can see valuable water running off of every road into the ditches and thence into the rivers, and remind him that he could use this water if it were kept in place. He will lose little time in talking matters over with county commissioners and engineers.... Such are the American patterns of behaviour which we can use if we understand them....

We must know clearly in our own mind what we want and then set out to get it. This is not a matter of science, but of the way in which, after knowledge is at hand, we determine to use it." ("Man and Nature in the Modern World", The Report of Gatlinburg Conference II, September 6-12, '44, pp. 25,44)

Time Line



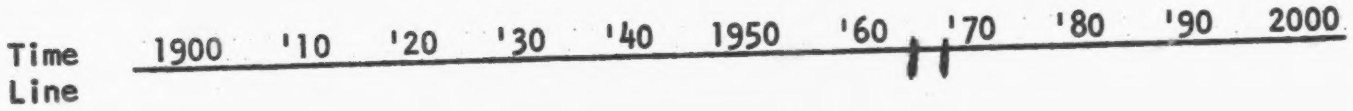
XII.12. The building blocks set up in the master plan of the Appalachian Regional Commission are not counties. They are too weak, too small, too poor. Instead "development districts" were used. Sixty of these districts were designed around a growth center (or in some, two growth centers). After 1965 thousands of local citizens who had, in most cases, never before had a chance to take part in public decision making, went to work hammering out development plans for their own districts. (Fischer, "Can Ralph Widner Save New York, Chicago, and Detroit?" Harper's, October '68, p. 28)

XII.13. After five years of "development" according to the master plan of the Appalachian Regional Commission, state and local funds still account for nearly two-thirds of the funds being used for regional development. (McNair, "The Appalachian Regional Commission", Compact, April '70, p. 20)

XII.14. A former staff member of the Brookings Institution and a Senior Fellow in Brookings' Governmental Studies Program wrote of the concern with theory which marks the Appalachian Regional Commission:

"... is it possible to construct a theoretical model to guide federal, state, and local authorities as they organize for planning and development?

"The model ...is a universal system of multicounty agencies with responsibility both for planning and for facilitating action programs covering the entire range of community activities relating to economic and community development...with flexibility as to whether and when an individual agency would exercise any particular phase of that responsibility." (Sundquist and Davis,"A Model for Nonmetropolitan Coordination", Appalachia, January '70, pp. 15-17)



XII.15. Another student of government called attention to the fact that it would have been easy for the Commission to decide the case was hopeless and to dribble away their federal money in a lot of little make-work projects all over the region. "That also would have been politically expedient: it would look fair, it would satisfy every court-house statesman, and would give at least a few dollars to every hamlet and hollow. But when the cash was gone, Appalachia would have been just as badly off as ever."

The remarkable triumph is that the Commission has been able to introduce planning into states that are among the most conservative in the nation -- planning on a scale that would have been denounced as unAmerican only a few years ago. (Fischer, "Can Ralph Widner Save New York, Chicago, and Detroit?" Harper's, October '68, pp. 28,24)

XII.16. "The main reason, I think, (that the planning effort was not denounced) is that the need for a joint effort by government and business had become plain to everybody."

The structure of government is changing in the entire nation as well as in Appalachia. Distinctions that only recently seemed quite clear--the division between federal, state, and local governments; the distinction between public and private enterprise--are now beginning to blur. (Fischer, "The Lazarus Twins in Pennsylvania", Harper's, November '68, p. 30)

XII.17. "...we are likely to be appalled by the number of agencies that must be co-ordinated, placated, worked into the program, and given credit for anything that is done or likely to be done." (Vance, "How Much Better Will the Better World Be?" Mountain Life and Work, Fall '65, p. 26)

XIII

HEALTH

The fact that rural areas today are having problems in securing needed health services is well known. Equally well known is the fact that poverty and isolation add to the problems of health care. The reader, therefore, may be braced for a recital of dire suffering and impossible situations in the poverty-ridden, isolated, rural areas of Appalachia, but most of these details are omitted intentionally. The statistics are available in several excellent presentations and should be read in full; otherwise the picture is distorted. (C. H. Hamilton's chapter, "Health and Health Services", in The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey, based on a study made between 1958 and 1962, is still one of the most comprehensive statements of the problem.)

The primary needs, a few accomplishments, and some recommendations are the subject matter of the following excerpts. They will indicate that the greatest need is for trained personnel in the various health services. And since many of the personnel needed are para-professionals and non-professional assistants and aides, the implications for vocational and adult education are evident. (See also Chapter XIV)

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XIII.1. "Perhaps Appalachia differs from other areas of the country only in the degree and time of its acute distress."

The problems of technological unemployment with which this region is wrestling today can be expected to become acute for the nation as a whole in the not-too-distant future. Perhaps Appalachia will provide a prototype and a proving ground for solutions. One of the first steps that will have to be taken toward solving such problems is the shift of large numbers of people from manufacturing and extractive industries to service industries.

The area of health is among those most in need of trained service personnel. (U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Mental Health in Appalachia, '64, p. 13)

XIII.2. Dr. Youmans of the School of Medicine at Vanderbilt University lists three basic health needs that any region, whether financial resources are lean or abundant, should try to meet. These needs are:

1. An adequate preventive medicine program.
2. An adequate medical care program--adequate in that it provides medical services consistent with the best current medical and health theory and practice, and adequate in that it is available to all needing it.
3. A comprehensive program of rehabilitation--designed to restore every person suffering from a disability to the optimum of health and function.

("Health Needs in an Age of Abundance", Mountain Life and Work, Summer, '65, p. 33)

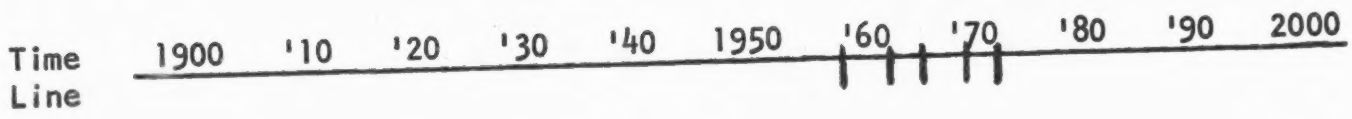
XIII.3. According to the U. S. Census of 1960, medical personnel in Appalachia number as follows:

Physicians--92 for every 100,000 persons as compared to the national average of 140 per 100,000, a difference of 34 percent

Dentists--42 per 100,000 as compared to the national average of 54 per 100,000.

Nurses--(Active registered in 1962)--289 per 100,000 as compared to the national average of 300 per 100,000. (But only 32 per 100,000 in Kentucky.)

(Appalachian Regional Commission, Health Advisory Committee Report , '66, pp. 16-18)



XIII.4. At the mid-point in the six-year program of the Appalachian Regional Commission, its journal, Appalachia, reported:

Major efforts are underway to recruit a large number of physicians, dentists, nurses and other professional health workers for Appalachia's eight Demonstration Health Areas. Some 900 health-related jobs at all levels of skill and training were created last summer with approval of twenty million dollars in Appalachian health projects.

The recruiting will concentrate on those working or completing training on the fringes of Appalachia and will emphasize opportunities for challenging, well-paid health careers in the region. ("News of the Region", February, '69, p. 13)

XIII.5. The great need for medical personnel is shown by many different groupings of data. The following is taken from Hamilton's chapter in The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey.

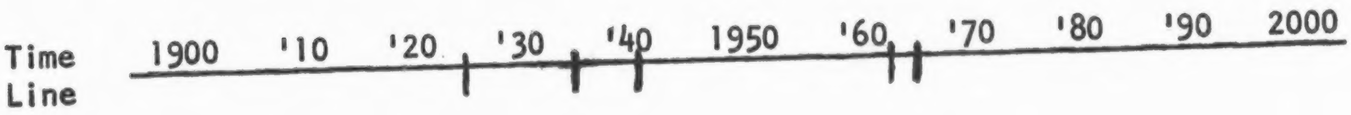
"Ten medical schools located in the seven Southern Appalachian states graduate about 750 M.D. s each year." To achieve the ratio of population to physicians in the United States as a whole (803 in 1958) the Southern Appalachians require more physicians than do other areas. Even if it is assumed that there should be one physician for each 1,000 people--a minimum standard recognized by many health planning commissions--the Southern Appalachians would need about 1,650 additional physicians. And given that number of additional physicians for the region as a whole, there would still remain the problem of intraregional distribution.

Eighteen counties have no dentists whatever; twelve counties have more than 10,000 people per dentist; fifty-one have from 5,000 to 9,999 people per dentist; only two counties have less than 1,679, the national average per dentist.

A high proportion of extractions compared with the number of prophylaxis and fillings indicates the inadequacy of the region's dental service.

Competent health authorities recommend at least one public health nurse for each 5,000 people. The ratio in the region is one public health nurse for each 15,373 people. In order to meet the recommended proportion, the Southern Appalachians would need 778 additional public health nurses.

Over 200 additional public health sanitarians are needed. ("Health and Health Services", '62, pp. 233-7)



XIII.6. All of the states of the Southern Appalachian Region have public health departments. The usual major services are local health services, vital statistics, maternal and child health, sanitation and environmental health, health education, epidemiology and disease control, a hygienic laboratory, dental health, hospitals and medical facilities, nutrition, public health nursing, and industrial hygiene.

Impressive as this list appears, however, local public health organization in the Southern Appalachians leaves much to be desired.

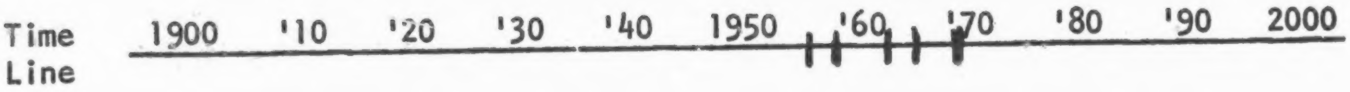
Of the 190 counties, only eighty-eight have full-time public health departments. Ninety-one counties are served by district health organizations; eight counties are in state or regional health units; and three counties have no public health organization of any kind except a health board with no professional personnel employed. (Ibid., pp. 236-7)

XIII.7. An unusual voluntary health service has operated in Leslie County and a corner of Clay County, Kentucky, since 1925: The Frontier Nursing Service. Of the staff of forty-five persons in 1965, twenty are nurse-midwives, eleven are registered nurses, and one is the medical director. Between 10,000 and 11,000 patients are admitted to care annually.

During all of its colorful history The Frontier Nursing Service has literally taken medical care to the people of isolated neighborhoods. Emphasis has always been placed on the care of the young child, but as facilities expanded, medical care was given to the whole family.

Five outpost nursing centers now enable patients to reach their nurse-midwife, and a small general hospital at Hyden provides additional care. Financial support comes from nation-wide voluntary contributions.

In the late thirties this Service opened a Graduate School of Midwifery, accepting registered nurses for training as midwives. Not only has this School made training more accessible for the nurse-midwives of the Frontier Nursing Service (who had been going to Great Britian for their training) but it has prepared many other people for work in other isolated areas of the United States and of the world. (Ibid., p. 239, and Browne, "From Horseback to Jeep", Mountain Life and Work, Summer, '65, p. 10)



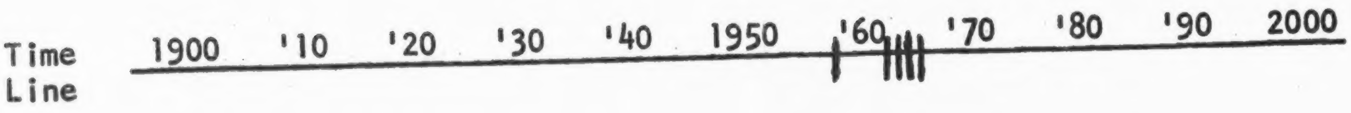
XIII.8. Weller quotes Pearsall's Little Smokey Ridge in his account of a typhoid immunization clinic that deliberately took to the road as a mobile, house-to-house affair because the citizens of the isolated neighborhoods that the clinic was trying to serve would not come to a central spot. (Yesterday's People, '65, p. 143)

XIII.9. The practice of carrying health insurance has grown rapidly in the Southern Appalachians (as it has in the nation). About three out of every four families surveyed in 1958 reported that they were carrying some sort of health insurance. "The percentage of rural families reporting health insurance coverage was only 63.4 as compared with 81.4 for the nonmetropolitan urban and 87.0 for the metropolitan." (Hamilton, "Health and Health Services", The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey, '62, p. 241)

XIII.10. In the mid-fifties, a chain of ten hospitals was built and put into operation by the UMW (the United Mine Workers of America), a project financed from their Hospital and Medical Care Fund which was supported by a forty-cent per ton levy on coal. The 250-mile chain consists of three base or central hospitals located at Beckley and Williamson, West Virginia, and at Harlan, Kentucky. Branch hospitals are located at Man, West Virginia, and at McDowell and Pikeville, Kentucky. Four community hospitals are located at Hazard, Whitesburg, and Middlesboro, Kentucky, and at Wise, Virginia.

"The hospitals were carefully planned by some of the leading hospital consultants and architects in the nation. They are...well located and equipped to render comprehensive medical care." By 1958 they were operating to capacity. (Ibid., p. 227)

XIII.11. By 1962 "the cost of maintaining these hospitals, with their heavy indigent care load, reached such proportions" that the UMW relinquished ownership and management of them. (Henry and Shelton, "Testimony on the Appalachian Regional Development Program", Appalachia, April, '69, p. 15)



XIII.12. In 1963-64 the chain of hospitals was acquired by Appalachian Regional Hospitals, a non-profit, non-sectarian organization which had been created for the purpose of bringing the UMW hospitals back into service.

Although the Board of National Missions of the United Presbyterian Church had led the way in a campaign to keep the ten hospitals in operation, Appalachian Regional Hospitals is a completely independent corporation, administered by a board of trustees responsible to the communities they serve.

The Area Redevelopment Administration provided a grant of $3,900,000 and a loan of $4,100,000 to Appalachian Regional Hospitals for the purpose of purchasing the hospital property and equipment (which had cost the UMW $30,000,000). (*Ibid.*, and Swann, "Appalachian Regional Hospitals Serve the Mountain Area", *Mountain Life and Work*, Spring, '65, p. 20)

XIII.13. Item XIII.5 referred to a need in the Southern Appalachian gion for 1,650 additional physicians. This would be "additional" to the 4,602 physicians listed for the region in the 1958 Directory of the American Medical Association of whom 7.6 percent were seventy-five or more years of age and 18.9 percent were 65 or more years of age. The median age of all physicians in the region was 46.2. In the nation, the median age of nonfederal physicians was 44.9 years. (Hamilton, "Health and Health Services", *The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey*, '62, p. 231)

XIII.14. "It is surprising that only 7.1 percent of the region's hospitals are approved for the training of interns. Obviously, large hospitals can give interns broader experience in medical care, but it is somewhat unfortunate that some method cannot be found to give young doctors experience in small hospitals. More and more the training of physicians is being both carried on in and oriented toward large cities. This practice is no doubt one reason why it is so difficult to get well-trained doctors to locate in the small community." (*Ibid.*, p. 225)

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XIII.15. "Only 14.1 percent of the hospitals of the region have either nursing schools or some affiliation with nursing schools. Obviously, it is impractical for small hospitals to conduct nursing schools, but nursing students do need to gain experience in the small hospital. Some of the larger university schools of nursing are now giving their students training in small hospitals...." (Ibid.)

XIII.16. The Student American Medical Association will place twenty student nurses and fifty medical students in the Demonstration Health Areas for nine weeks this summer. These students will assist their host physicians and nurses in the office, accompany them on their rounds, conduct community health surveys, and take part in public health programs such as immunization clinics.

The students are to be recruited from all parts of the United States and to receive an orientation course to acquaint them with Appalachian culture before they begin work.

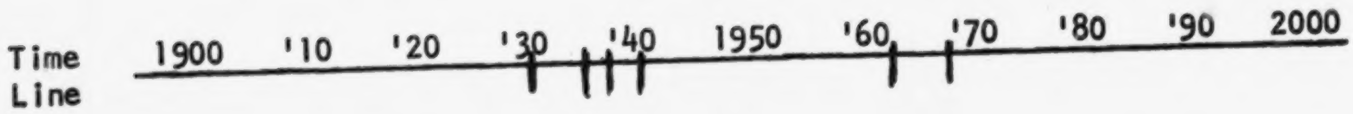
The SAMA hopes to influence the students' eventual return to the region. ("News of the Region", Appalachia, February, '69, p. 13)

XIII.17. "In Kentucky the Pine Mountain Area Health Council has joined with the Buckhorn Area Health Council and the Wilderness Road Area Health Council to design and submit to the Appalachian Regional Commission an eleven-county regional demonstration health project..." for the development and delivery of regional health services over a nine-year period. (Henry and Shelton, "Testimony on the Appalachian Regional Development Program", Appalachia, April, '69, p. 15)

XIII.18. "...for the first time in Alabama the county health systems of three counties have been combined under one administration and one health officer...."

Largely with Appalachian funds, a program to provide preventive and restorative dental services...and to establish a dental health educational program...is now in operation.

"...we have been able to take a giant step forward in improving mental health services." (Ibid., p. 17)



XIII.19. "The AFL-CIO Appalachian Council is investing $1,500,000 in a program of health services and guidance and counseling to be contained in five box cars to be moved through the region over hundreds of miles of abandoned railroad tracks." (Carmichael, "Impacts on Education in Regional Areas", Educational Leadership, October, '68, p. 19)

XIII.20. Population control was studied in the thirties as a way of relief from the economic pressures of the depression. One experiment indicated a willingness among poor families of a West Virginia community to accept family limitation--even at that time.

Over 13,000 rural non-farm wives were reached by a volunteer contraceptive service, frankly set up by private philanthropy as a social experiment in the control of fertility. This group had been responsible for fifty percent of the county's births between 1936 and 1938. After admission to the contraceptive service their birth rate fell forty-one percent. (Vance, "The Region's Future: A National Challenge", The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey, '62, p. 298)

XIII.21. Thomas R. Ford in the Foreword of DeJong's report on his analysis of the Appalachian fertility decline, says,"The significance of DeJong's findings is not so much that cultural factors are related to reproductive behavior but that underlying values and beliefs that support high fertility are subject to relatively rapid change under certain circumstances."

Although the circumstances that bring about these changes are not yet fully understood, it begins to be clear that a strategy for population control can be developed, and that it can be made more effective than the current frontal assaults which are often resisted by culture barriers. (DeJong, Appalachian Fertility Decline, '68, pp. viii-ix)

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XIII.22. The National Institute of Mental Health issued a perceptive and challenging statement in 1964 entitled *Mental Health in Appalachia: Problems and Prospects in the Central Highlands*. It introduced the problem in the following words:

"Since most of those who migrate are young and resourceful, many of those who remain are the elderly, the illiterate, or those who have given up hope for the future and have been adjusting to poverty, ignorance, and public welfare assistance....This hopelessness compounds itself, is handed on from father to son, and brings with it psychological problems for a whole population." U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, p. 1.

XIII.23. "Appalachians...live within basic contradictions. Their standards, mores, and culture are simultaneously prohibitive and provocative.

"Their counties vote 'dry' but moonshine stills continue to send up smoke....Crimes are punished, but crimes of violence are somehow expected....A man may desperately want a job, but balanced against that need is his fear of being 'job scared'....His conception of individual independence has been frozen in an obsolete mold."

Their strength derives from strong family ties and cultural values emphasizing work and thrift, as well as a long tradition of individual independence....Such strength of character contrasts with the 'pervasive apathy and dependency' of many urban slum dwellers. (*Ibid.*, p. 2)

XIII.24. "...there is a higher percentage of 'childhood disability' cases--mentally retarded children or seriously handicapped children--in the Appalachian area than in any other section of the country in relation to population....

For older people in almost every part of rural Appalachia, living has become a state of waiting to die...." (*Ibid.*, pp.8-9)

XIII.25. "The Frontier Nursing Service...has proved that basic health education and basic care can be provided effectively to people of even the most remote areas when the nurses...go to the people and into their homes."

In addition to health personnel, a potential source of help resides in the trained personnel of the school system and the public welfare and child welfare workers.

"Some of the general practitioners of medicine in the more prosperous resort or urban communities who serve adjacent rural areas are responding to the American Medical Association's recent emphasis on the physician's role in mental health by joining in seminars and classes for physicians in general practice." (Ibid., pp. 4-5)

XIII.26. The National Institute of Mental Health recommended an experimental approach which would use the new resources in mid-twentieth century Appalachia. The report mentioned, for example:

1. The new medical center at the University of Kentucky and the fact that students studying in its department of community medicine are going to the hill country to work with the doctors there.
2. The many private and public agencies which have a gap in cooperation that must be closed.
3. The meetings of county associations of agencies which provide a ready-made channel for increased circulation of information to professionals about the resources that are available.

(Ibid., p. 16)

XIII.27. Two years later Science News Letter referred to the 1964 report, choosing the following recommendation for emphasis:

The National Institute for Mental Health recommended using Appalachians themselves in an indigenous, psychiatric program--by training some as psychiatric aides rather than relying on hospitals and clinics. Services could thus be expanded and unemployment in Appalachia curtailed." ("Experimental Approach to Mental Health Needed", February 26, '66, p. 135)

XIII.28. The experimental program should also enlist teachers, clergymen and store owners in a mental health information service. Those closest to Appalachian families would thus know how and where to get help. (Ibid.)

XIII.29. "The region needs nursing homes and foster homes. Individuals who are willing to start such homes need help in meeting licensing requirements. Families who keep their old people at home need help...."

There are almost no community resources such as these for the aged. As a result the aged are often put in state hospitals. The fact that close to twenty-five percent of the hospital population is aged 65 or over verifies this observation. (U. S. Dept. H.E.W., National Institute of Mental Health, Mental Health in Appalachia, '64, p. 9)

XIII.30. Virtually all the psychiatric hospitals in Appalachia are state or county operated. The Appalachian areas of Kentucky, Georgia, and South Carolina, in 1964, had no psychiatric hospitals whatsoever. (Appalachian Regional Commission, Health Advisory Committee Report , '66, p. 19)

XIII.31. Two psychiatrists, one in research with the Harvard University Health Services and the other in the Medical Department of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, issued the following challenge through one of their professional journals: What the young Appalachian Volunteers and the people of Appalachia have found themselves willing and able to do together can only serve to remind anyone who cares to notice how unnecessary many of the region's most severe difficulties really are. (Coles and Brenner, "American Youth in Social Struggle (11)" American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, January '68, pp. 45-46.)

XIII.32. When reports began to be noticed--reports that the poor were going hungry--federal agencies discovered that we had far less information on the nutritional conditions of our own people than on those of under-developed countries.

A survey is "now under way in ten Appalachian Kentucky counties. Other Appalachian states to be covered by the survey are New York, West Virginia, and South Carolina." (Bray, "The Costs of Malnutrition", Appalachia, March '69, pp.1-2)

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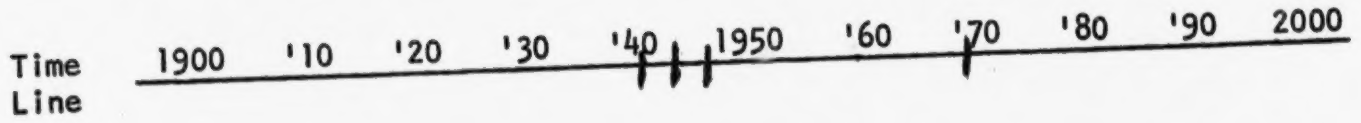
XIII.33. Dr. Charles Lowe, Chairman of the Committee on Nutrition of the American Academy of Pediatrics, is quoted as saying, "One third of all families in the United States with four or more children live in poverty... and malnutrition is most frequent among our families living in poverty.... The preschool child from the time of weaning until approximately six years of age is the most vulnerable to problems of malnutrition. His well-being is dependent upon the knowledge and capability of the mother to feed him properly and protect his health...." (Ibid., p. 2)

XIII.34. "Dr. Nevin Scrimshaw, head of the Department of Nutrition and Food Science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, has warned that 'nutritional deficiency, if sufficiently early and severe, can have profound and permanently detrimental consequences on the learning and behavior of children.' " (Ibid.)

XIII.35. Dr. Lowe adds, "The earlier malnutrition exists, the more devastatingly it impinges on growth and development." By the age of three a child's brain achieves eighty percent of its adult weight while the body attains just over twenty percent of its adult weight. (Ibid.)

XIII.36. "Increasingly, concern is being focused on meeting this problem at an earlier age than first grade or even kindergarten....In 1967 Project Head Start reached an estimated ten percent of four- and five-year olds in Appalachia with educational and health programs, including snacks or meals."

Nearly two-score federal programs provide people with food, or coupons or cash for food, furnish education in nutrition, or undertake nutritional research. The major programs are Food Stamps, Commodity Distribution, National School Lunch, Special Milk, Pilot School Breakfast, and emergency food and medical services. (Ibid., p. 6)



XIII.37. Food habits are tied to such factors as social prestige, custom, and self-image, and they are difficult to change. A few experiences indicate, however, that they have been changed as a result of planned influences.

The Sloan Experiment, for example, which was administered from the University of Kentucky during the early and middle forties, set out to determine what changes if any can be brought about in food practices through the education of children. Especially prepared instructional materials relating to diet were made available to a few experimental schools in eastern Kentucky. The materials were designed to parallel, not to replace, the regular state-adopted texts.

Anecdotal records provided evidence that certain diet practices had been modified in the homes of some of the families in the communities of the experimental schools. (Seay and Meece, The Sloan Experiment in Kentucky, '44, pp. 73-75)

XIII.38. Some 3000 new food products are introduced each year in the United States. Through consumer studies before and advertising after the development of a new product, the food companies have reason to believe that people will change their diet habits enough to purchase the new food.

A number of U. S. food companies are developing new food products for production and marketing in developing countries overseas. These foods are planned to be within the price range of low-income families, and they are attractive and flavorful. (Bray, "The Costs of Malnutrition", Appalachia, March '69, p. 4)

XIII.39. The Agency for International Development made a study which has relevance for Appalachia: "In Guatemala the cost of 90 days hospitalization for each case resulting from inadequate nutrition is $600 compared to an annual cost of $7 to $10 to prevent malnutrition in the first place." (Ibid.)

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XIII.40. Six recommendations were made as a result of the broad health study reported in the Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey:

1. Continue a flow of new, specialized local surveys to keep the pot boiling and to serve as guides for new programs.
2. Expand and intensify health education--not only the technical and medical aspects, but also such social and economic aspects as the organization of health services; factors in the utilization and cost of health services; and use of prepayment plans, health insurance, and public funds in paying for medical care.
3. Develop regional, state, and local lay organizations to support health programs, institutions, and services-a PTA for the field of health education.
4. The medical and dental professions should become more active in supporting public health activities, the building of hospitals and nursing homes, and in health education.
5. More state and federal financial aid must be provided for the support of public health programs in low-income counties and communities.
6. Both lay and professional leaders in the region will need to give more attention to the development of health insurance plans for low-income families, particularly those in rural areas and the aged.

(Hamilton, "Health and Health Services", '62, pp. 243-4)

XIII.41. The 1964 conference report of the National Institute of Mental Health makes a strong and repeated recommendation that "the many able human beings available in the area be employed in programs designed to alleviate the needs of their own neighbors. This calls for extensive subprofessional training and for the designing and redesigning of helping services of all sorts, including mental health services....

"Workers trained in mental health concepts should be made available as consultants to teachers, public health nurses, physicians, the clergy, and others.

"Semi-skilled helping aides would enable professionals such as psychiatrists and psychiatric social workers to accomplish their work more quickly and aid more persons." (U.S. Dept. H.E.W., Mental Health in Appalachia, p. v. 15)

XIV

EDUCATION

Published material is plentiful in the field of education--and it is plentiful on the subject of the problems of Appalachian education. A noticeable lack of reporting in nationally circulated materials, however, marks the field of Appalachian adult basic education. Even though some of the work being done in Appalachian programs is of a pioneering caliber, forty-two recent issues of the two journals of the Adult Education Association yielded no report. Several research studies present findings which have implications for Appalachia. Certain "special purpose" publications present excellent material for the specific use of workers in the field of adult basic education. Other materials of a more general nature offer insights into the reasons for the undereducation of many people in Appalachia and some suggestions as to what the latter part of the twentieth century requires of education in Appalachia.

Information selected from these materials falls roughly into the following categories: ideological background; mid-century problems and efforts in Appalachian education; and selected needs and programs in adult education, adult basic education, and vocational education as reported in the literature. Items XIV.48 to XIV.58 have been selected from nationally circulated publications.

Several recommendations for adult basic education in Appalachia seem to be indicated by the collection of facts and viewpoints selected for this bulletin. First are the recommendations which grow out of work originally reported during the thirties and forties, a period that has already been cited as particularly influential in its educational philosophy and its regional activity. The principles presented in these publications are accepted as basic to adult education in more recently published material and in research carried out during the fifties and sixties.

(1) Since education is a continuous process (See XIV.2.), adult basic education must necessarily be thought of as part of the whole program of public education and as meeting part of the total educational need of a person's life. Adult basic education programs should be planned accordingly.

(2) Research findings make their way slowly, and frequently not at all, into the mainstream of life. Yet the growing importance of keeping up with significant discoveries and developments in science, technology, the social sciences, and many related fields is generally recognized. (See XIV.5-8.) A great need in Appalachia, as in other parts of the United States, is for effective means of channeling research into education.

(3) If the findings of research are to be read with understanding by the average citizen and certainly if they are to be understood by the members of a class in adult basic education, the technical language and difficult concepts will have to be simplified. Such information should be restated in terms, also, of the interest of the intended reader. Charts, diagrams, maps, and pictures will be helpful. Materials of this type--the special-purpose and school-made materials--are prepared by specialists and by teachers, sometimes assisted by students, and usually

working under the general supervision of a university center. (See XIV.9-12). Arrangements for the writing, drawing, and photographing of such materials should be included in the facilities provided for adult basic education.

Next is a group of recommendations calling for specific contributions by adult education, vocational training, and adult basic education toward the preparation of people to live in the twentieth-century United States.

(4) Para-professional assistants are greatly needed in Appalachia to extend service in the under-staffed fields of health, education, and law. (See XIII.27, 40, and XIV. 38,46.) Vocational and adult education personnel are already working toward training para-professionals, but greater emphasis in this area is needed. (A similar need is recognized in the United States as a whole. For example, the W. K. Kellogg Foundation has supported projects in the training of para-professionals in the health and education fields.)

(5) Semi-skilled aides are also greatly needed in Appalachia (and in the United States) to assist teachers, nurses, and other extensively trained workers whose time and effort are now being diluted by work which an aide could do equally well. Again, although vocational and adult education personnel are working toward meeting this need, greater effort is indicated. (See XIV.58.)

(6) Much more training than is now available is needed for adults and youth who are working--and who hope to work--in service industries. (See XIV.38.) In a few specific instances, the quality of service is

already being improved and new service industries are being staffed through such training. These examples should spur educators and community leaders to improve and expand this kind of training.

(7) Technical training is, of course, available in forestry, but much more needs to be done in community education to help individual owners of wooded acres learn better systems of forest-land management, and to help citizens value and protect forest resources. (See VII.)

General education should be as large a part of any program as possible, even if the program is primarily vocational in purpose. The third group of recommendations that seem to be indicated in the selected information deal with a basic kind of general education that would help the people of Appalachia understand their immediate problems and possible solutions to those problems.

(8) There is great need in over-populated coal mining areas for helping people see that they can and should move to a community that can provide employment. There is similar need of help for farmers on small hill-side farms to enable them to see that their way of life is no longer economically feasible and that they should think about moving to a community that can give them a better economic opportunity. And after individuals have decided to move, they should have educational preparation for the new way of life they will encounter after their move. (See VI. 17, VIII.7, and XIV.35.)

(9) Adult basic education is in a strategic position to clear the confusion created in the minds of many citizens by the multiplicity of community agencies. Such help to the people of the community is an area

of development that Ehle calls "citizen competence". (See XIV.36.) In addition to a better understanding of the services a citizen can expect from local, state, and federal agencies, he would learn about his rights as a citizen. He would also learn how to participate in meetings of a more public nature.

(10) Civic responsibility is irregularly understood in Appalachia. (See XII.1-6.) Where prevailing value systems tend to weaken local government, all the community educational agencies should be aware of the need for helping people (a) to understand their community responsibilities and (b) to learn how to meet their community responsibilities.

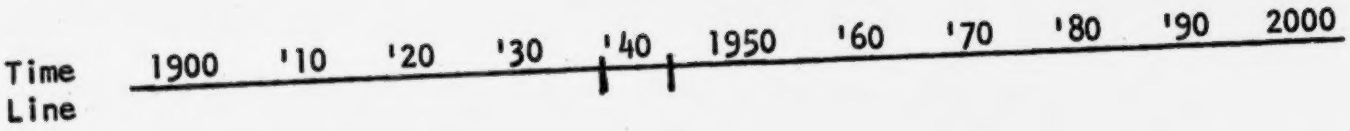
(11) Even more general is the need on the part of the people of Appalachia (and of people in all regions of the United States) to understand and value their own life-style and the different life-styles of other Americans. The suggestion is made in Chapter XI that folk arts offer a valuable aid in developing this kind of understanding. (See XI.12, 13.)

The foregoing recommendations indicate that national and regional planners expect a great deal from adult basic education. Much of the published literature implies that the people who work in adult basic education programs must figure out for themselves how to identify in individuals the misunderstandings that still handicap Appalachia and then must find ways to confront and open up these misunderstandings. If national and regional planners do expect such a large and important service from adult basic education,the two following recommendations become imperative:

(12) Each adult basic education program should have its own staff. Full-time teachers should be employed, and their abilities should be

augumented by the semi-skilled aides and the specialized services which the community program requires.

(13) Feed back from the experiences of actual adult basic education programs should be used to build better programs. The elements of a good adult basic education program are also the elements of a good "regular" school program. Feed back, therefore, should help to improve both adult basic education programs and the elementary and secondary work of the "regular" school program.



XIV.1. We have the problem of insuring sound, enduring, and organic progress in our search for balance and equilibrium,in our appraisal and use of resources, in our concept and practice of education for democracy, and in translating and channeling all this into human resources and institutional development.

It profits little to join the whole world of mechanisms and of temporary exhausting achievements if we have lost the soul and personality and health of humanity and the folk. Mere redistribution of resources and technology through standardized procedures isolated from the elements of folk life will never bring harmony. (Odum, "The ociologist Looks at Resource-Use Education", an address before the Gatlinburg Conference II, '44)

XIV.2. The Tennessee Valley Authority set out to train the employees needed in its broad program and to provide for the intellectual, recreational, and social needs of employees and their families as they themselves expressed these needs. The Authority also committed itself to serve whenever possible the local and state educational agencies in their efforts to develop educational programs based upon the needs and interests of residents of the Tennessee Valley.

The concept of education that emerged was stated in terms of five "principles":

1. Education is the composite of all experiences of an individual; thus, education is different for each individual.

2. Since education is a continuous process, it cannot be confined within fixed administrative divisions; it demands co-ordination of all its services.

3. Educational activities should be based upon the problems, needs, and interests of those for whom they are planned.

4. The democratic method (based upon a faith that people, if free and informed, will more frequently than not do what is best for society) is a practicable method by which the educational program can be related to the real interests and real needs of people.

5. An educational program for all age levels must be characterized by flexibility. (Seay, Adult Education, A Part of a Total Educational Program, '38, p. 44-5)

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XIV.3. Institutions of collegiate and secondary-school grade supplemented vigorously and intelligently with broad programs of adult education, must assume the responsibility for enabling citizens to understand the problems and needs of the region. (From H. A. Morgan, Chairman of the Board, The Tennessee Valley Authority. Hartford, ed., Our Common Mooring, '41, p. 67)

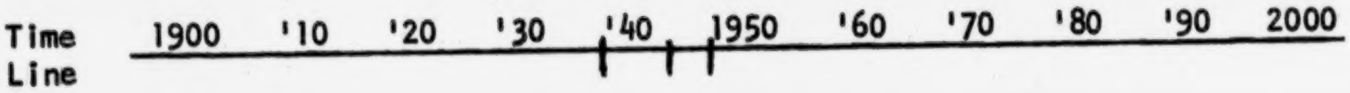
XIV.4. The power of education makes it possible for people to look beyond the boundaries of their communities and in time to bring their skills, values, and concepts to bear upon broader problems in the states, regions, nations, and the world. (Seay, "The Community School: New Meaning for an Old Term", Fifty-Second Yearbook, Part II, The National Society for the Study of Education, '53, pp. 12-13)

XIV.5. There have been notable advances in research and technical fields through the contributions of the highly trained products of our educational system. But there is danger that the mass of people will become less and less able to understand and interpret these advances as the technician moves ahead at an increasingly rapid pace. (From H. A. Morgan, Our Common Mooring, '41, p. 68)

XIV.6. "The individual who works within the influences of research and action cannot escape a growing humility born of respect for what each has to contribute to the other." (Ivey, "Bridging the Tragic Gap", The High School Journal, May '46, p. 106)

XIV.7. One of many points of view similar to those expressed between 1938 and 1946 was reported in 1970:

"As major portions of knowledge become obsolete, the adult population who graduated 10 and 20 years ago will begin to demand that the university provide them the opportunity to 'retool' or to 'catch up' with the latest developments in a field." (Wharton, an interview upon his appointment as President of Michigan State University, Enquirer and News, May 31, '70)

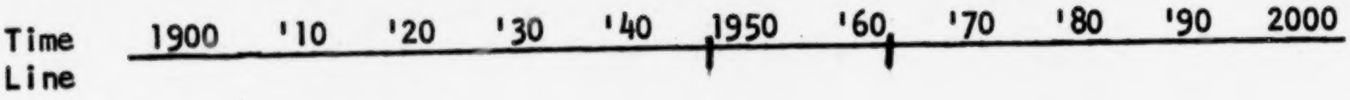


XIV.8. The findings of research studies in various fields of natural, physical, and social sciences have for many years been one of the great untapped reservoirs of instructional material for school and college. Both educators and research workers have become increasingly conscious of this situation. On the one hand school leaders recognize that the curriculum needs the enrichment and constant stimulation that comes from current studies of natural and social phenomena. On the other hand, research leaders realize that one of the most effective means of getting something done about their studies is to see them incorporated in the ongoing educational process. The difficulty has been in finding ways and means to unite the interests and talents of both groups. (Ivey, Channeling Research into Education, '44, p. iii)

XIV.9. In order to base educational activities upon the problems, needs, and interests of those for whom they are planned, some entirely new courses of study and instructional materials have been prepared. When already prepared instructional materials are used, many modifications, additions, and omissions are made. (Seay, Adult Education, A Part of a Total Educational Program, '38, p. 65)

XIV.10. The most obvious aspect of research translation is the actual reproduction of research facts in form and content adapted to educational needs. This is a technical job which embodies the task of producing educational materials: readers, moving pictures, resource units for teachers, maps, charts, and other instructional units. (Ivey, Channeling Research into Education, '44, p. xv)

XIV.11. During the first year of the Sloan Project in Applied Economics (emphasizing food), a need for special instructional materials was recognized. The textbooks in use at the experimental schools included some topics related to food, but an analysis of the textbooks revealed that the content was general and often impractical for rural areas. (Hillis, The Preparation and Evaluation of Instructional Materials on Community Agencies, '48, p. 13)



XIV.12. During the sixth year of the Sloan Project in Applied Economics, a need for special instructional materials on community agencies was recognized. The following criteria were selected to guide the preparation and evaluation of these "special purpose" materials:

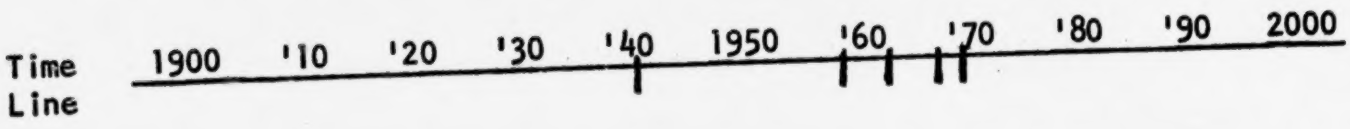
1. The informational content is related to the experience of the pupil.
2. The pupil is conscious of a need for the information which the material offers.
3. The information is adequate for use by the pupil.
4. The material is well organized.
5. The style of writing is clear and comprehensible.
6. The vocabulary is suitable to the age and grade level of the pupil and to the subject matter of the text.
7. Technical terms or unfamiliar words necessary to the content are explained as they are introduced.
8. Useful study-helps accompany the text.
9. Interest factors are present. (Those used in the materials on community agencies were people, story form, action, humor, and life-like situation.) (Ibid., p. 38-9)

XIV.13. The problems of education in Appalachia have increased with the years, but why? One writer (See XIV.24.) says, "The reasons we have not developed comprehensive preventive and educational programs for young children are not because we lack knowledge of their importance, or because we lack funds. The basic reasons are organization."

Another writes, "The limiting factor is not knowledge of what can be done. Overwhelmingly, it is a shortage of money." (See XIV.56.)

Still another viewpoint comes from the Education Advisory Committee appointed by the Appalachian Regional Commission: "The greatest single quantitative and qualitative deficiency lay in teaching and administrative personnel." (See XIV.16.)

The Southern Appalachian Studies concluded that the problem in part, at least, was one of decreasing local effort due to two factors; lack of economic ability and lack of initiative and concern for education. (Graff, "The Needs of Education", The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey, '62, p. 191)



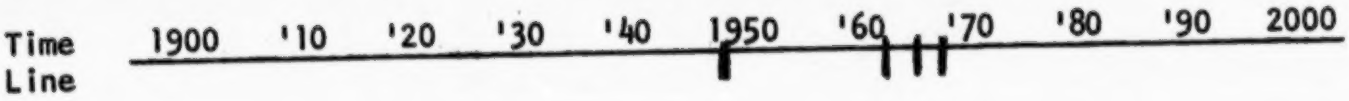
XIV.14. Between 1940 and 1958, overall effort to finance education in the southern Appalachian region declined. "Perhaps the primary factor which inhibits local financial support is the dependence on revenue from property tax."

The residents of the region made clear through their responses to the Southern Appalachian Studies questionnaire that, contrary to popular opinion, they would welcome federal assistance for their educational program. (Ibid., pp. 191-2)

XIV.15. 65 percent of the region's students do not graduate from high school. The bulk of students drop out between seventh and ninth grade. Of the rural dropouts (and Appalachia is still over 50 percent rural) less than 30 percent of farm students and only about 40 percent of non-farm students complete ten grades of school. Only one in ten Appalachian students goes on to college.

Those trained in the region's colleges migrate. For example, 85 percent of the teachers in the Hamilton County and Cincinnati, Ohio, school systems are Appalachian immigrants. Nearly 70 percent of the young teachers returning to or remaining in the region leave after their first four years. The results are the steady aging of Appalachian teachers and a tremendous loss of talent. (Branscome, "The Crisis of Appalachian Youth", Appalachia, May '69, p. 16)

XIV.16. "The greatest single quantitative and qualitative deficiency lay in teaching and administrative personnel. Other major problems were the need for greater concentration of formal programs for the earlier years, facilities and equipment, counselling services, curriculum, pay scales, improved cooperative utilization of physical and personnel resources, and need for occupational education programs." (Appalachian Regional Commission, Education Advisory Committee Interim Report, '67, p. 6)



XIV.17. It should be noted that the major cities in Appalachia compare favorably with those of the rest of the nation. The Advisory Committee's concern, therefore, has been mainly with the isolated rural areas characteristic of the region. (Ibid.)

XIV.18. Politics and personal favoritism have been allowed to enter school administration to such an extent that many first-rate teachers cannot stay in the school systems of the region. The drive for excellence is a goal only in sports. The teacher who is considered "good" is often the one who merely fits in and thus perpetuates the anachronisms of the culture. (Weller, Yesterday's People, '65, p. 17)

XIV.19. Jesse Stuart's The Thread That Runs So True is well known. Mere reference to it will remind the reader that Jesse Stuart, who loved his profession of teaching, who considered it the greatest profession under the sun, who had spent six years of his life earning an average of "one hundred dollars and thirty cents a month" even though he had prepared himself with an A. B. degree plus two years of graduate work, left teaching in order to raise sheep and farm and write a novel--in order to make enough money to get married. ('49, p. 288)

XIV.20. Contrary to general belief, today's American school teacher is not typically a young unmarried woman. The typical public school teacher is mature and well-educated, about 43 years of age, has gone to college 4.7 years and has taught for 13 years. 29 percent of all public school teachers are men.

"The Southern Appalachian teacher is not very different from the national average. In the study sample, 24 percent were men,...the average age was 43.3 years,...and the average teaching experience was 18.2 years,...with 3.8 years of college preparation, the Southern Appalachian teacher was almost a year behind the national average." (Graff, "The Needs of Education," The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey, '62, p. 194)

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XIV.21. Pearsall compares the value orientations of the person with an urban-based, upper middle class professional background and the person with an Appalachian mountain background. (See IV.14,15.) Weller says that the schools in Appalachia need teachers from both backgrounds. He suggests that a teacher exchange, using mountain and city teachers, would be helpful. (Yesterday's People, '65, p. 112)

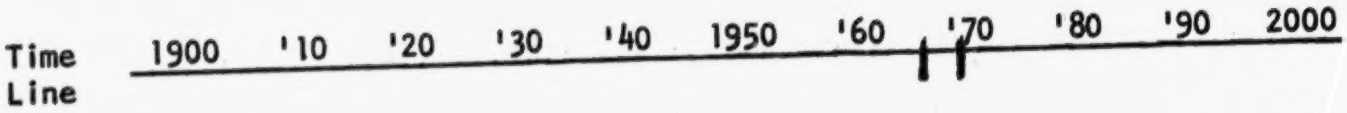
XIV.22. Weller makes a distinction between the "folk" sub-culture and the part of it that is "lower class". Of the people in the latter, he says, "They are not problem-solving but instead problem-creating". Even to help this group become part of the folk culture in the mountains will require massive amounts of professional skill, understanding, and financial help. Similar problems are being met with a similar group in the cities.

The part of mountain culture that is folk class has met mountain life in adequate fashion. One of its handicaps is the extreme resistance to new ideas, but teachers can find ways to open this life to the future. Particularly helpful would be more adult influence in youth reference groups.

There is a need for "bridge" persons to the outside.

There is also a need for keeping two groups in mind as educational programs are developed: the upwardly mobile and those who are staying in the folk culture. The upwardly mobile are easier for middle-class workers to reach, but the great help to Appalachia will come from learning how to help those who are staying in the folk culture. Teachers need to learn how to settle down to the slow pace of this group and to develop abilities in cooperation and self help as they can be found. (Ibid., pp. 141-154)

XIV.23. Since "hollow folks" value face-to-face relationships, perhaps take them on a trip once a month. Invite entire families. Use chartered buses. Perhaps move up to longer trips. (Gazaway, The Longest Mile, '69, p. 343)



XIV.24. The point of view that Appalachia has not developed comprehensive preventive and educational programs for young children because of organizational problems is supported by an authority in child development who was invited to assist the Appalachian Regional Commission in that area of specialization.

"Most public services are organized around specific functions. A highway department builds roads, a finance department manages budgets and money, an educational department operates schools or sets standards for them.

"Our present governmental programs which include services to young children are similarly divided among many agencies. One department cares about health, another about education, still another about the welfare of the family. Because the needs of small children do not neatly separate into departmental jurisdictions, adequate total resources for children have simply not developed."

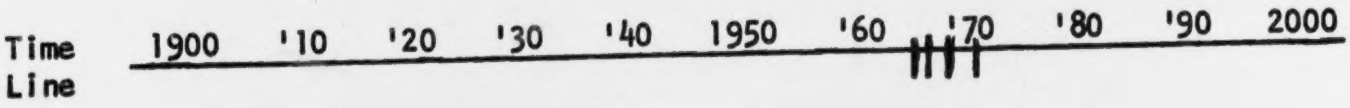
Lazar suggests a state-level interagency committee which would develop a state-wide plan for the coordinated delivery of services for children:

1. Identify the components of a total Child Development Program.
2. Identify training resources.
3. Review state laws and regulations.
4. Survey local resources.
5. Organize local planning committees.
6. Develop local program plans.
7. Develop state program plans.

(Lazar, "Organizing Child Development Programs", Appalachia, January '69, pp. 1-2)

XIV.25. What is the Appalachia Educational Laboratory? AEL has been described as a "catalyst bringing together the educational forces of a region. It must, by tact, persuasion, logic, and service, bring about cooperation and coordinated team work in its area.

"The ills of education in Appalachia can and must be solved largely by educators and educational forces already resident in the region. These forces can accomplish this gigantic task if their thrust is concentrated and aimed. The Laboratory's unique and distinctive function is to make such concentration possible." (Singleton, "AEL, A New Force in Education", Mountain Life and Work, Winter, '66, p. 9)



XIV.26. The Appalachia Educational Laboratory grew out of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 which enabled leaders of Appalachian education to consider concerted action on a regional basis.

"The first regional meeting called to discuss such a laboratory was held in...1965 in Parkersburg, West Virginia. It was attended by representatives from school systems, state departments of education, colleges and universities, business, industries, and educationally-related agencies."

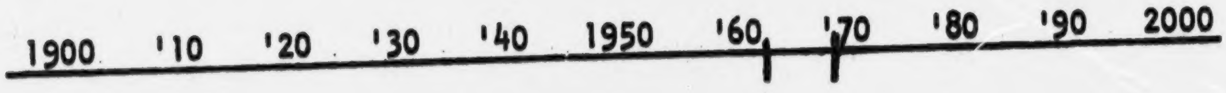
About 1,400 individuals were involved in the preparation of a prospectus which was submitted to the U. S. Office of Education. After a development period, the Appalachia Educational Laboratory was officially funded for its first period beginning June 1, 1966. (Ibid., p. 6)

XIV.27. "The Appalachia Educational Laboratory is committed to the idea of creating a new educational process within which the total range of educational activities can be conducted--new modes of teaching individuals and groups of students, new roles for teachers, new curricula, and a new approach to marshaling educational resources. We call it the 'Educational Cooperative'."

The Director of the Laboratory further explains: "The problem is simply that major changes in education...cannot be implemented through the existing structure....Schools and educational practices are captive of the economic, social, and political warp and woof of the region." (Carmichael, "Impacts on Education in Regional Areas", Educational Leadership, October '68, p. 19)

XIV.28. An "Educational Cooperative" combines a group of small school districts, a college, and the state department of education. When the model has been refined through trial and error, a process which is expected to take another year or two, it will be made available to all interested districts. The Educational Cooperative Program will enable a small school which lacks resources to perform on a par with the most advanced districts in the country. ("Renaissance for Rural Schools?" Education U.S.A., May 18, '70, p. 211)

Time Line



XIV.29. A journal, Appalachian Advance, is published bi-monthly during the school year by Appalachia Educational Laboratory, Inc., "to report on and stimulate discussion about the problems and potentialities of programs related to educational development. It is published pursuant to a contract with the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, and is circulated free to a controlled mailing list of school personnel in the region served by the Laboratory." (ERIC resume, '69)

XIV.30. The southern Appalachian region has been and continues to be a large home-mission area for major denominations among American churches. "There has been a retreat from the support of primary and secondary educational enterprises and an increase in the more specifically religious enterprises, such as mission churches and workers." (Brewer, "Religion and the Churches", The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey, '62, p. 218)

XIV.31. The plans of private and church-related colleges to limit growth may indicate a decline in the traditional influence of these schools in the region. If their potential contribution to education (including their strategic locations) were developed under vigorous modern leadership, these schools could be a continuing power in the educational life of the people. "It would be a great service to the region if these colleges would reevaluate their purposes and gear their programs and growth to the needs of the Appalachian youth." (Graff, "The Needs of Education", Ibid., p. 199-200)

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Note: The author of the following statement about the work of the Appalachian Regional Commission in the area of education is Robert E. McNair, Governor of South Carolina and states' cochairman of the Appalachian Regional Commission for the term January 1-June 30, 1970.

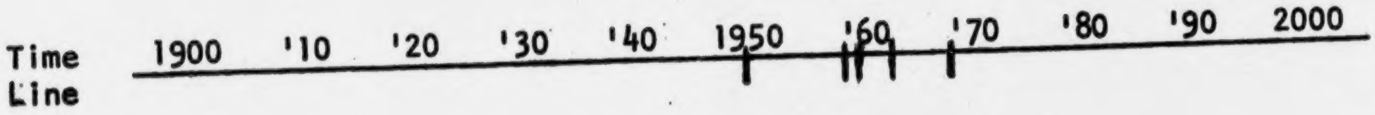
XIV.32. The initial educational emphasis in the program of the Appalachian Regional Commission was on vocational and technical education. The training opportunities in commerce, trades and industry, and in such acute manpower-short fields as para-medical occupations were increased, while emphasis on vocational agriculture and home economics was reduced.

The Commission awarded grants to states to make more effective use of regular federal grant programs for secondary schools. Improvements were assisted in certain strategically located institutions of higher education in order that teachers, scientists, and engineers required to man the Appalachian economy of the future could be produced. In several states a network of educational television stations was constructed.

Acceleration of the construction of state networks of vocational and technical training centers was accomplished by many Appalachian states. For example, Kentucky has built a network of 38 vocational schools with Appalachian funds, and has covered its entire Appalachian area with educational television. New York has completed a 16-school vocational training network, and the emphasis is now shifting to the construction of post-high school technical facilities at community colleges.

As the early objectives were being accomplished, a second set of priorities was established by the Commission:

1. Preschool education to help Appalachian children overcome some of the difficulties they have in competing in the school environment at their age of entry.
2. An increase in the quality and quantity of Appalachian teachers.
3. Improving occupational information, guidance, and training for the young people of the region.
4. Multi-jurisdictional school programs in rural areas to help spread the cost of expensive school services among as many school districts as possible.
5. Improving state and local education planning. (McNair, "The Appalachian Regional Commission", Compact, April '70, p. 21)



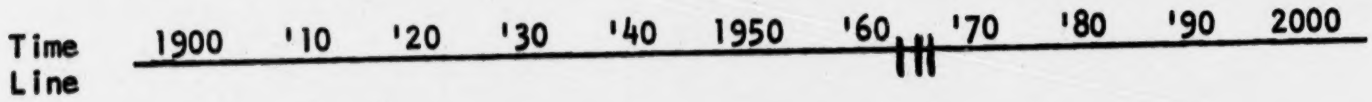
XIV.33. The need for adult basic education is vividly illustrated in a compilation of the percentage of selective service registrants who failed the mental test in 1959. The national percentage of registrants who failed was 24.7 while the percentage in the seven southern Appalachian states ranged from 27.1 to 45.

Residents 25 years of age and older were significantly less well educated than the same age group in the nation as a whole. The median school years completed by members of this age group in 1950 in the nation was 9.3; in the region it was 7.2. A 1958 survey of heads of households in the region indicated an increase in the number of years of schooling attained, but no narrowing of the gap between educational levels in the nation and those in the region. (Graff, "The Needs of Education," *The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey*, '62, pp. 188, 200.)

XIV.34. "Schools may be improved, but it is less easy to repair the educational damage already inflicted. Nearly a fifth of the regional population 25 years of age and over had less than five years schooling...." (Vance, "The Region's Future: A National Challenge," *Ibid.*, p. 290.)

XIV.35. Appalachian development is assisted by the same motivational base which leads to continued out-migration among the younger adults of the region and which has been bringing about changes toward a smaller family size--the strong desire of most Appalachian residents, and particularly of the youth, to enjoy the goods and services of the affluent society.

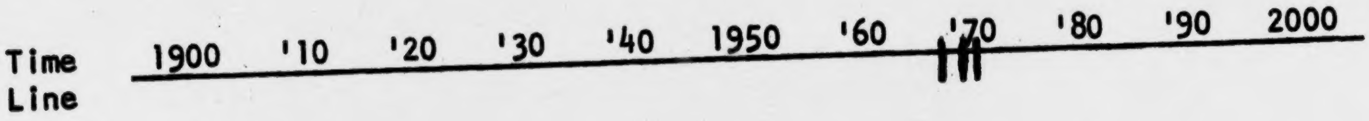
Where the immediate prospects of economic improvement are poor, planners should recognize that the young people will have to leave the area. Efforts to augment decisions to leave should include a thorough educational and occupational preparation for automation and urbanization. Such assistance to youth in Appalachia could have significant consequences for individual and for area development both in the Appalachians and in the areas to which Appalachian residents migrate. (DeJong, *Appalachian Fertility Decline; a Demographic and Sociological Analysis*, '68, p. 107)



XIV.36. Ehle, after experience as special assistant to the governor of North Carolina, as a writer on North Carolina and civil rights, and as special advisor in public affairs to the Ford Foundation, made a statement to the Council of the Southern Mountains about some development programs he thought the mountain region needed. (See XV. 4.) Of particular interest to adult education is the following:

> Citizen Competehce--the type of program that goes directly to the people who need help and works exclusively with them and on their behalf. It is the type of program that advises citizens about their rights and helps them to use their rights effectively. For example, this kind of program might help people to learn to read, or it could help adults form social and business clubs, and it might help them to take part in community affairs. Such program should be reasonaly independent of "the establishment" because when people start representing their own rights they sometimes come up against the interest of those who benefit from things staying the way they are. (To Build a Civilization," Mountain Life and Work, Fall '65, p. 15)

XIV.37. Adult education projects were instituted in Appalachia by a number of agencies during the mid-twentieth century. For example, The Council of the Southern Mountains initiated a three-year program in 1963, secured financial support from the Ford Foundation, and assisted several local projects. One was in Pike County where the schools asked for $15,000 to be used with state funds for the purpose of involving 1600 adults in evening classes. Much recruitment was done by person-to-person contact. Community storeswere sources of information. Basic education (levels 1-8) and eventually a high school equivalency program were offered in the evening classes. (Ford Project Staff, "Catching Up On Education" Mountain Life and Work, Winter '66, pp. 20-23)



XIV.38. Some programs--such as distributive education and office occupations--support the rising trend of employment in services. These programs serve both men and women equally and should be strengthened.

Similarly, there should be an increase in para-professional programs in health occupations and in education. "...needs for para-professional personnel in health and education could provide a means to revitalize Home Economics curricula and justify a continued high investment in this area." (Appalachian Regional Commission, Education Advisory Committee Interim Report, '67, p. 64, Appendix A, p. 12)

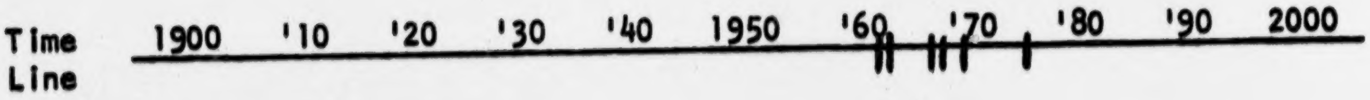
XIV.39. The Appalachian Regional Commission in July, 1969, approved a Youth Leadership Development Program: to study and implement methods and strategies by which a new generation of leaders can be retrained and developed within the region.

"The program's premise is that the most effective way to build new leadership is to encourage meaningful involvement of young people in development programs, to give them the opportunity to work with existing leadership in carrying out development projects and to create opportunities for young people to organize such activities of their own." (Branscome, "Youth Leadership Development Program Emerges", Appalachia, September '69, p. 12)

XIV.40. A new feature page was added to the Commission's journal in January, 1970. It was entitled "Appalachian Youth News" and in the first issue the headlines were:

Ford Fellows Program Has Openings
CORA (Commission on Religion in Appalachia) Forms Task Force on Youth
Pennsylvania Youths Appointed to Policy Positions
Summer Jobs with Hometown Governmental Agencies
North Carolina Seeks Views of High-School Students

(Appalachia, January '70)



XIV.41. "Vocational training should be viewed as a supplement to, rather than a substitute for, sound basic education."

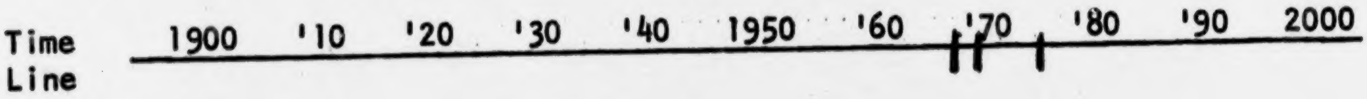
Much vocational teaching in the region is supported by Smith-Hughes funds which were originally allocated to rural communities for assistance to young people who would go into agriculture. Although few young people can or should go into agriculture now in Appalachia, there is in the Smith-Hughes program an existing structure for the assistance of local school systems. "...the possibility of revising the program's content to provide a greater variety of training should be examined. Training in the service occupations is greatly needed...." (Vance, "The Region's Future: A National Challenge", The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey, '62, p. 296)

XIV.42. There is need for a re-orientation of many traditional programs of vocatinal education to reflect the changing needs of our growing industrial society.

We have seen a decline in farm employment of 140,000 per year for the 1961-1966 period, which is projected to continue approximately at the same rate each year until 1975.

There must also be shifts in the quality of training as this need is reflected in the higher educational attainments of the labor force. (Appalachian Regional Commission, Education Advisory Committee Interim Report, '67, p. 20)

XIV.43. New major programs have begun to promise relief to the youngest of the region's citizens: Head Start, day-care centers, early-childhood education centers. But for the young people of high school and college age new and creative assistance is imperative. (Branscome, "The Crisis of Appalachian Youth", Appalachia, May '69, p. 18)



XIV.44. Vocational education, viewed by many as a panacea for the region's educational problems, has not done the job it should have.

The first problem is that all too often secondary schools are out of touch with the realities of the labor market. Students are frequently trained for jobs which do not exist, and are not trained to fill those that are available. A much higher proportion of students are enrolled in agriculture or home economics than in trades and industry courses, but most job openings occur in the latter field.

Another difficulty in the current vocational education setup lies in the region's failure to receive a fair proportion of federal funds in this field. Although Appalachia has 13 percent of the national enrollment in secondary school vocational education, it receives only 7.3 percent of the federal funds available.

Finally, the region is not keeping pace with the nation in advancing to higher levels of vocational education. Secondary school enrollment still accounts for nearly three-fourths of total vocational enrollment, while the nation is moving on to post-secondary and adult vocational training. (Ibid., p. 16)

XIV.45. "By 1975 there is projected a 57 percent increase in secondary enrollments are opposed to 138 percent increase in post-secondary, 141 percent in adult programs, and 410 percent increase in special needs program enrollment." (Appalachian Regional Commission, Education Advisory Committee Interim Report, '67, p. 30)

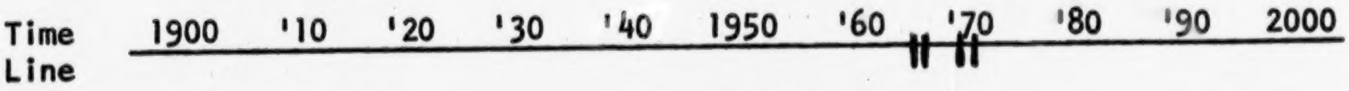
XIV.46. A need for para-legal workers to extend inadequate legal services in Appalachia is similar to the need for para-medical workers to extend inadequate health services. Some form of referral service could be developed in the isolated rural areas which would make legal services available to all. (Cummings, "Legal Services for Appalachia", Appalachia, September '69, p. 20)

Note: Reports of specific projects in vocational education appear in Appalachian publications from time to time. Item IX.18. in the Chapter on manufacturing described one example; another is summarized in the following item:

XIV.47. A one-year demonstration project studied a neighborhood-based system in which volunteer neighborhood counselors helped unemployed and underemployed young men through a job-training program and into employment. Volunteers helped the professional staff of the neighborhood employment center recruit and interview trainees. They counseled them through the training period and assisted in getting them jobs.

The project showed that indigenous, nonprofessional neighborhood people could be trained to carry out some professional employment functions. Women made the best interviewers, but were reluctant to make home visits, while men were more successful as counselors. Certain characteristics seem to make for success--such as maturity, marriage, a long term, steady job, and previous community volunteer work.

Reasons for trainees staying in the training program were counselor support, motivation, excellent teachers, training allowance, and neighborhood support. Reasons for dropping out were dislike of school situation, lack of motivation, and no training allowance. (Action for Employment, A Demonstration Neighborhood Manpower Project February '66)



Note: In this chapter on Education all but four (XIV.4,7,28,38.) of the foregoing items of information appeared originally in Appalachian publications--in articles that were published either by organizations in the region or by agencies charged with responsibilities for the development of Appalachia.

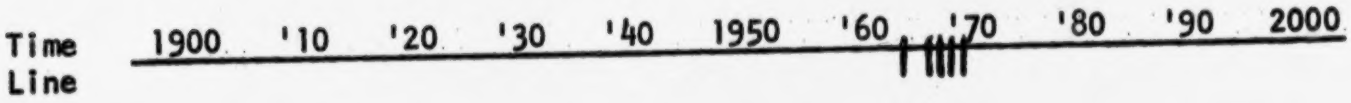
What is being published in the nation-wide field of educational literature on the subject of (1) adult education in Appalachia; (2) adult basic education in Appalachia; (3) education at any level in Appalachia; (4) information that would be of special interest to educational programs in Appalachia? Findings related to this four-part question should reveal something about the level of dissemination achieved in the various educational programs--some of them of pioneering caliber--now operating in Appalachia. The findings should also indicate activity in areas of mutual concern to Appalachia and the nation.

The search was necessarily brief and limited. Articles appearing since 1965 were sought in the two journals of the Adult Education Association, the Education Index, and the Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature. Material on adult education and adult basic education was scanned in the 1966-1969 indexes of ERIC (Educational Resources Information Centers) at the Ann Arbor Center. A few articles appeared in popular periodicals

XIV.48. Forty-two recent issues of the two journals of the Adult Education Association, Adult Leadership and Adult Education, were scanned for their coverage of United States adult basic education.

In the thirty-issues of Adult leadership, three items referred to adult basic education: (1) a review of a speech by the Director of Continuing Education for the State of New York: "Issues in Adult Basic Education"; (2) a report of a project for Spanish-speaking persons--written by Bahr and appearing in the February, 1970 issue--which described the program sponsored by the U. S. Office of Education to provide community services, job training, and language and cultural assistance to Americans with Spanish surnames; (3) a resumé of the 227-page state-wide report on "The Identification of Community Needs in Tennessee".

In the twelve issues of Adult Education, no article referred to adult education in Appalachia or to adult basic education anywhere.



XIV.49. Reports can be found on state programs in adult education and in adult basic education. Resumés of two such programs are repeated here as they appeared in the ERIC system of information retrieval:

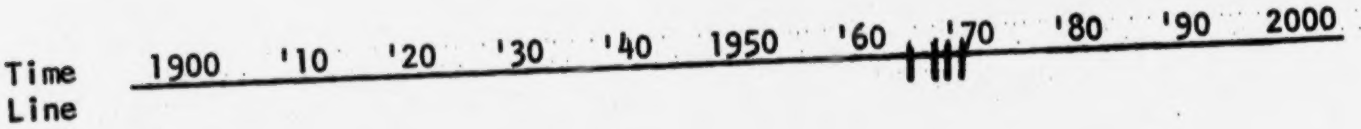
1. Adult Education: State of South Carolina; Triennial Report for Fiscal Years 1966-1967-1968. Columbia, South Carolina: South Carolina University, June, 1969. 91p.

"Details of programs funded under Title I in South Carolina during 1966-68 are described in the areas of community development and government, community economic and human resources development, and community health and recreation services. Colleges involved, funding, objectives, programs, and institutional capacity are reported for such programs as development of volunteer leadership in public agencies and indigenous leadership in low income urban areas; day care center and preschool education development; a survey of recreational needs and training of neighborhood leaders; informing and involving citizens in urban problems; training of personnel to work with the disadvantaged; health and mental retardation information services; development of low rent housing; information on and services for adult development and aging; and vocational guidance for non-college youth.

"Priority problems were identified as interinstitutional cooperation and sharing of experiences; involvement of other organizations, institutions, and citizens; establishment of a library of resource materials; using the services of a research assistant; publishing material concerning problems; and consultation with authorities. Evaluation and quarterly report forms have been developed to assure proper assessment of programs."

2. Adult Basic Education: Seaman, Don F. and Emmett T. Kohler. Adult Basic Education in Mississippi. An Evaluation. Vol. 1. Mississippi State Department of Education, Jackson, and Mississippi State University, State College, Bureau of Educational Research, June '69. 163 p. $8.25.

"This reports a large-scale evaluation of the ABE program in Mississippi, begun under Title IIB of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. The document includes tables, map, and questionnaires."



Note: Reports of several research studies, available through the ERIC system of information retrieval, present findings relevant to adult education and adult basic education in Appalachia. Four of these research reports are summarized in XIV.50-53.

XIV.50. A summary of literature concerned with the learning abilities of disadvantaged adults showed no definitive evidence to suggest that they have any less ability to learn than other adults. Further research is recommended. (Sticht, "Learning Abilities of Disadvantaged Adults", March '69)

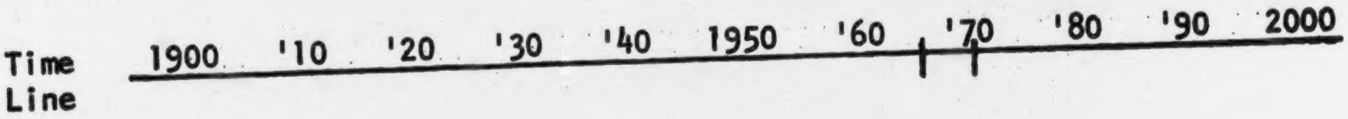
XIV.51. This Ed.D. thesis concludes that the main reasons for withdrawal of students were personal ones such as personal illness, conflict in employment schedule, and child care problems.

A need was seen for small groupings in the program, for flexible schedules, diversified programs, and for an awareness of realistic short-range and long-range goals to serve as incentives for adult students.

The sample upon which the study was based consisted of a ten percent random sample of 1965-67 dropouts in two New Orleans programs. (Hawkins, "A Study of Dropouts in an Adult Basic Education Program and a General Education Development Program and Suggestions for Improving the Holding Power of these Programs.", '68)

XIV.52. The purpose of this study was to determine factors related to the recruitment and training of volunteer adult leaders for work with lower socio-economic rural youth in Wisconsin. The sample consisted of 350 youths in grades 5 through 8; 1976 were of lower socio-economic status and 174 were of higher socio-economic status. The youths were asked to describe what they wanted in a leader.

The descriptions revealed that rural youth, regardless of status, wanted the personal characteristics of kindness and helpfulness, and a democratic style in an adult leader. (Affs, "Leadership and Personal Characteristics Desired in a Leader by Low Socio-Economic Rural Youth", '67)



XIV.53. This commentary on creativity research in adult education concludes that certain teaching methods encourage creativity:

1. Leading the student to question.
2. Using analogy, metaphor, and free association of ideas.
3. Permitting logical analysis to come late in the discovery process.
4. Encouraging skepticism.
5. Permitting disorder.
6. Leaving blocks of free time for thought.
7. Furnishing aesthetic experiences.
8. Rewarding creativity.
9. Relating subjects to other disciplines or to wider concepts and problems.

In adult education the administrator is responsible for designing a curriculum to foster creative capacity....He must be open to new ideas and be an able, creative person who values the development of sensitive minds. (Zahn, "Creativity Research and Its Implications for Adult Education", '66)

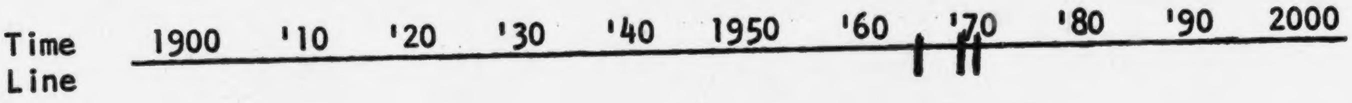
XIV.54. The following summary of a statement from the U.S. Commissioner of Education is pertinent not only to the problems encountered in teaching reading but to the special need in Appalachia for a conept of people being able to help each other:

Reports from across the country reveal that 25 percent of the pupils in United States schools suffer from significant reading deficiencies and that three in five of these have problems so severe that they cannot be corrected in today's ordinary classroom.

In order to meet the problem as it appeared in a group of three Flint, Michigan schools (largely serving families of recent migrants from the South) a plan was developed whereby regular teachers went into slum homes and showed the parents how to help their children by simply sitting down with them for a short time each day and getting them to look at a word, sound it, define it, and then try it out in a sentence.

In spite of their "disadvantaged" surroundings and the very limited education of their parents, the children who were helped at home progressed exactly twice as fast as an untutored control group.

The cost of this program was only $3.50 per child for 2,300 youngsters. (Allen, "We Can End Juvenile Illiteracy", Reader's Digest, April '70, pp. 157-62)



XIV.55. The National Committee for Children and Youth of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare offered the following interpretation of "the myth of a rebellious adolescent subculture":

"Most change agents, reflecting the dominant middle class values of American society, tend to see no problem as unyielding in the face of simple educational effort." They face personal conflicts when the value systems of the target group cause their educational effort to fail.

Then the change agents find reassurance in the belief that the dropout adolescent is adrift and needs his help. This is "often not the case, but the idea of rebellious youth salves one's conscience, eases anxiety, and makes a difficult job appear easier than it is. Perhaps these functions of the myth help preserve its existence in popular thought." (Burchinal, Rural Youth in Crisis, '65, pp. 57-8)

XIV.56. Even with full recognition of the problems caused by differences in value systems between school personnel and the communities in which they work, there are still many who place greatest reliance upon plentiful money.

Galbraith, for example, insists that the United States will have to invest more than proportionately in the children of the poor if poverty is to be eliminated efficiently. In order to compensate for the very low investment which poor families are able to make in their own offspring, that community will have to be given financial assistance from the outside.

In addition to investment in education, Galbraith recommends that the nation give the mobility that is associated with plentiful, good and readily available housing, with comfortable, efficient, and economical mass transport, and by making the environment safe and pleasant and healthful. (The Affluent Society, '69, p. 294)

XIV.57. The "special purpose" publication, Techniques for teachers of adults, is an example of a newsletter with national circulation which offers assistance to workers in the field. The February, 1970, issue carried the heading "Underprivileged--or Underestimated?" and suggested ways of finding the strengths of disadvantaged adults, of building on their strengths, and finally of improving one's own teaching strengths.

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XIV.58. A teenage teacher-aide program was reported from Ohio University. The sub-heading "Teacher-aide program motivates young Appalachians away from poverty" expressed the philosophy of the program.

Teams of students from the University's College of Education and juniors and seniors from high schools worked together with preschoolers in Head Start centers. "The three diverse groups have one point in common: all participants come from poor families."

133 teenage trainees were recruited from 11 nearby Appalachian counties of Ohio and West Virginia. They were brought to the University campus at Athens for five weeks of intensive training in working with preschool youngsters. The trainees were then paired and assigned to work with a college student who aspired to be a teacher. The college student understood in advance that he would both give and gain in this arrangement.

The five weeks on campus opened up a whole new world for the Appalachian teenagers. Their schedule focused on a curriculum for preschoolers in language arts, science, music, art, and recreation. They had a taste of the social and fun side of college, they received needed medical and dental care, and they participated in group dynamics sensitivity sessions--which gave them a chance to express deep concerns.

Confidence developed through getting involved in successful experiences. "Seemingly there can be no failures. If the trained aides do not go on to college, they still have an income-producing vocation with which to seek employment."

The program has shown there is less difficulty in communication when children and aides share a background. Also, "children see the aides as models who show them a way out of deprivation...." (Lyon, "Introduction to Success", American Education, May '67, pp. 5-6, 25)

XV

LOOKING TOWARD THE FUTURE

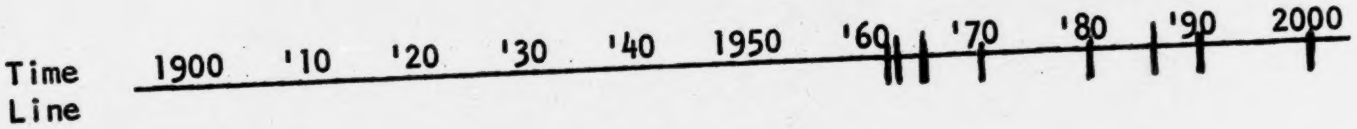
The writers and speakers who are represented in this bulletin are concerned chiefly with reporting the complex action taking place now in Appalachia. Their reports reflect, of course, the views of the future that various planners hold today and have held in the past, views that shaped the history-making state and federal action of the sixties. In a few publications, however, the planners speak for themselves. Here and there a writer looks out beyond the hills toward the distant future--as Harriette Arnow did in her childhood, knowing the future meant something different from that which was familiar to her in 1926. (See XV.11.)

Brief comments from a few thinking individuals on the Appalachia that today's children (and their children) may inhabit are gathered together in the pages that follow. These views grow out of a variety of intellectual backgrounds: a lifetime of studying the social patterns and human needs of the region, creative experience in political action, disillusion with recent redevelopment efforts, intuitive insight in the area of human potential.

While current planning in Appalachia emphasizes economic development, the purpose of building a stronger economic base in the region is better living for all the people. There is, of course, complete agreement on this purpose. The problems come in the next stage of the planning:

How? Who? Where? How much? How fast? Several writers express concern that Appalachian prosperity will be costly in terms of the cultural values of large segments of the population. A few writers, however, are saying that they believe the planning being done in Appalachia in these mid-twentieth century years is of a pioneering variety that can, perhaps, avoid the socially harmful aspects of earlier unplanned industrial-urban expansion. In fact, these writers suggest that this pioneering work in Appalachia may someday show other planners how to save the larger metropolitan centers of the United States.

Looking toward the Future



XV.1. "...How long a period should be allotted to carry through on a program and when should we be able to determine that the Appalachian problem is no longer self-generating?...The answer suggested is one generation." (Vance, "The Region's Future: A National Challenge", The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey, '62, p. 298) (See also 1.25.)

XV.2. "The word is out: There is money in the budget for the Appalachians.... We need, as it were, to set up a statute of limitations as to what these new programs may do and how their degree of success may be measured." How long a period should be allotted to carry through the new programs? One generation is indicated by a provision of the Area Redevelopment Act (of 1961) that no industrial or commercial development loan, including extensions and renewals, shall exceed twenty-five years.

After referring to a final ten-year period, 1990-2000, for a "mopping-up" operation, the author says that one value of the suggested priority schedule would be the three census periods which would assist in measuring the progress of the program. "Analyses of the 1970 censuses of agriculture, business, and manufactures should enable us to set a bench mark from which to measure "population movement out of low-level agriculture and the success of manufacturing and commercial enterprises in areas expected to benefit from the development programs. "Data from the population censuses of 1980 and 1990 should be analyzed to determine the progress of out-migration and fertility control, changes in the employment structure, and the extent to which the gaps between regional and national levels of education and income have been closed." (Vance, "How Much Better Will the Better World Be?", Mountain Life and Work, Fall '65, p. 25)

XV.3. John Ehle quotes W. D. Weatherford as exclaiming, "We're trying to build a civilization up here!" and adds, "A civilization ought ideally to develop out of a people and an area, not be superimposed artificially..." He urges leaders to work cooperatively toward the civilization which seeks to evolve in the mountain region and in America. ("To Build a Civilization", Mountain Life and Work, Fall '65, p. 17)

XV.4. The mountain areas need three types of new developmental programs:

1. Research--more information is needed about such factors as the out-migration of the mountain people, particularly the painful exodus of families to cities where they meet cultures which are different and which they suppose to be better.
2. Institutional programs such as those of the U. S. Office of Education, and the Office of Economic Opportunity--how far these programs can reach down to the poor and achieve reform, we don't yet know.
3. Citizen competence--we need to help people use their rights effectively; perhaps to help citizens learn to read, to form social and business clubs; to help them take part in programs offered by the government.

If these three types of programs are run out of one office, as many authorities believe possible, "there should be some group watching over everything." (*Ibid.*, p. 15-17)

XV.5. Unless we evaluate the future properly, it is possible "the region will obliterate some of the assets it now has, which apparently are not negotiable at the moment, but which might be of value later." We could be developing a type of urban and industrial complex which America, in twenty years or so, may be trying to escape. The state purpose of both the Appalachian Commission and the Economic Opportunity Act is to improve the economic base of the area. This purpose will need to be modified by a cultural equivalent not present in the acts as they stand now nor in the present thinking in Washington. (*Ibid.*, p. 17)

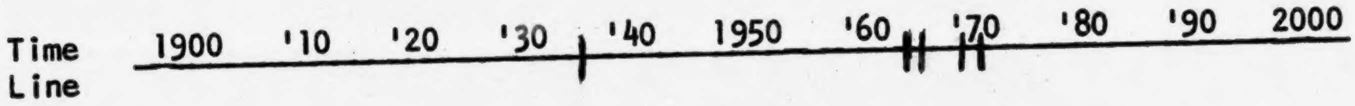
XV.6. "Whether rightly or wrongly, the traditional Southern Appalachian way of life no longer prepares its members to contend with the realities of mid-twentieth century living. We and they must therefore strike some balance, hopefully modifying our own behavior enough to incorporate the virtues of the mountain heritage while bringing them into full partnership in todays affluent Great Society." (Pearsall, "Communicating with the Educationally Deprived", *Mountain Life and Work*, Spring '66, p. 11)

Time Line 1900 '10 '20 '30 '40 1950 '60 '70 '80 '90 2000

XV.7. "The future of Appalachia depends...on how well we do in rejuvenating our towns and cities as much as it does on successful resolution of the problems that beset us in the rural areas. In fact, the solutions to both are inextricably intertwined." (Widner, "The Four Appalachias", Appalachian Review, Winter '68, p. 19)

XV.8. "The final foreseeable future for Little Smokey Ridge as a neighborhood is disintegration, which has already begun, and finally death." The author of this sentence is Professor of Behavioral Science at the University of Kentucky; her more recent article, "Communicating with the Educationally Deprived", is referred to in the section of this bulletin entitled "Explaining the Way of Life". In 1959 Dr. Pearsall was looking realistically toward the future of the many "Little Smokey Ridges" in the isolated hollows and on the most unreachable ridges of central Appalachia. She explains that the isolation of the individual households has increased as some of the families move away. The ties that hold the families together in a neighborhood become more ephemeral each year. Three or four elderly residents will probably live out their lives on the ridge, and families of "squatters" will continue to come and go for a while, occupying old houses and raising small crops on old lands for a season or two before leaving. The majority of the young people will move out into contemporary society, either gradually in several moves or suddenly in one plunge into the outer world. More and more of the houses will become abandoned ruins.

These isolated neighborhoods in central Appalachia have come late to a stage of disintegration passed earlier in many parts of the United States. The great mobility of the American people and the unprecedented growth of an industrial civilization has brought the death of small rural communities in many parts of the country. "Wherever and whenever settlers were caught by the shift from self-sufficiency to a money economy on lands unsuited for commercial production, they soon deserted their farms for new lands or for town life." The inhabitants of central Appalachia face special difficulties stemming from their long isolation in a self-destroying frontier folk culture, but individuals and families will eventually catch up even though their neighborhoods perish. (Little Smokey Ridge, p. 180-1)



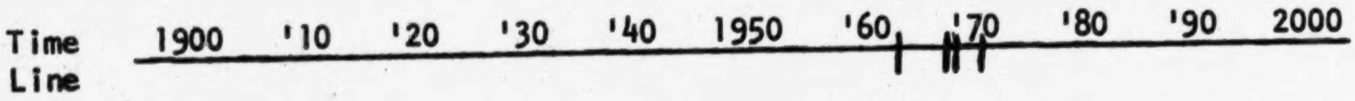
XV.9. A 25-year-old New Yorker who paid $126 a week to live with a very poor family in Mingo County, West Virginia, a few weeks during the summer of 1969 asks, "When will we ever tire of our silly sensationalism?"

His visit was sponsored by the Economic Opportunity Commission of Mingo County. On his arrival he was greeted by scores of newsmen and photographers, including a contingent from a leading television network. Since that day he has appeared twice on national TV, several more times on local West Virginia TV, been featured in numerous news articles, has been quoted and misquoted on such subjects as Appalachian living, economics, religion, food, and hygiene. "By creating a story where no story existed," he said, "by presenting charity as sensation and poverty as a sideshow, the press succeeded only in widening what is already an enormous gap between the truth and our incredibly distorted perceptions of it." (Douglas, "Enough Nonsense about Appalachia", The Courier-Journal and Times, April 12, '70)

XV.10. In order to reduce the hard-core unemployed who seem to prefer life on welfare to work, first, teach them how to work. Then require participation in work projects as a prerequisite to qualifying for any welfare benefits.

Since the women "do most of the work, I would provide some employment opportunities at first in the Branch." Their earnings would supplement the income of the family and the husband would be able to view the situation favorably. (Gazaway, The Longest Mile, '69, p. 344)

XV.11. "...It was then I saw the other world. This lay in the rows and rows of hills to the east; I wondered on the life there, where few people whom I knew had ever visited....A combination of war and technology destroyed a system of life, but the people were not all destroyed to the point of dissolution." (Arnow, "Introduction", '63, to Mountain Path, '36)



XV.12. Several Appalachian leaders have been admittedly disappointed by the Appalachian Development Act of 1965 and the Appalachian Regional Commission. One group which believes that an Appalachian "TVA" should be formed held an organizational meeting on the Berea College campus in April, 1970. The two speakers for the meeting were Harry F. Caudill, Whitesburg, Kentucky, attorney and author, and J. H. Gibbons, director of the Environmental Quality Studies Project at the Oak Ridge National Laboratories, Oak Ridge, Tennessee.

The organization named itself Scientists and Engineers for Appalachia. Its primary objective is "to provide a medium whereby advances in science and technology may be utilized toward the enrichment of life in Appalachia."

About 200 scientists, engineers, educatiors, and others attended the meeting. ("Aim at Appalachia 'TVA,' Technologists Urged," Courier-Journal and Times, April 26 '70)

XV.13. Robert Theobald, whose name is associated particularly with the concept of the guaranteed income, wrote that the cybernated era emphasizing full education would mean the end of the industrial age with its emphasis on full employment. Therefore, parts of the country which have not yet been brought into the industrial system cannot possibly pass through the industrialization process. (An Alternative Future for America, '68, p. 81)

XV.14. "Restraint should be the watchword...posterity will honor us more for the roads and dams we do not build in areas having irreplaceable scenic and recreational values than for those we do. (Udall, 1976: Agenda for Tomorrow, '68, p. 120-1)

XV.15. "If it is shown that certain localities have little potential for development, there is no need within the national context for human resources so placed either to be lost or left to deteriorate. Where the necessary basis for area development is not present, we need to concentrate on development of the human potential--a development which in some communities of the Appalachians will involve preparing large numbers of the population for jobs to be found only outside the Region." The goal of overall planning, whether the time be during the study for The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey or during the late sixties, should be the achievement of a high level of living, an achievement to be obtained by dealing with both the resource and population factors in balance. And area development must take place within the context of national economic development.

"In planning for the development of the Region's human resources, the goal should be to provide the people with opportunities to develop their full social and economic potential, whether they remain in the Region or leave it." (Vance, "The Region's Future: A National Challenge", The Southern Appalachian Region: A Survey, '62, p. 293)

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